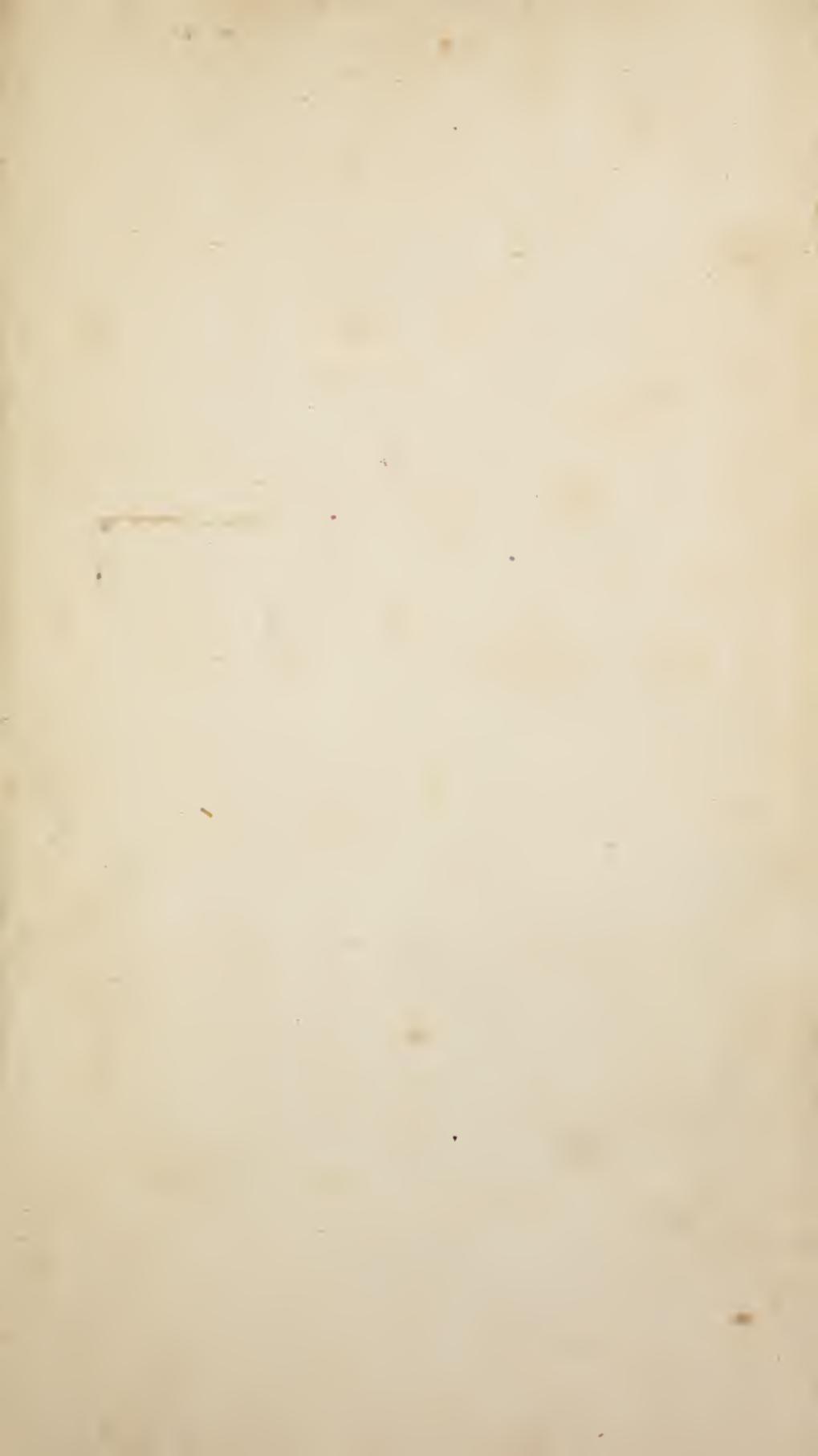
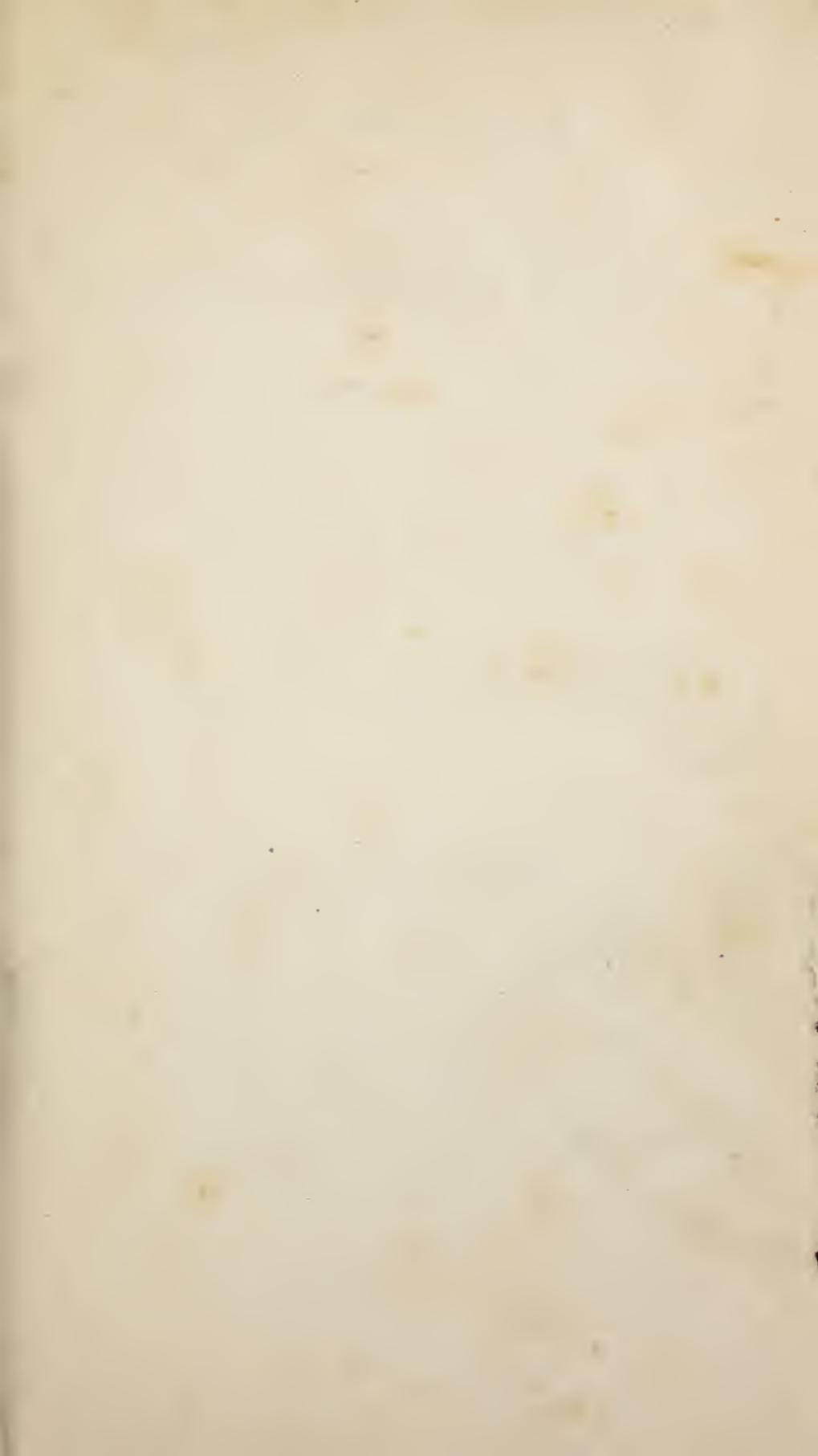


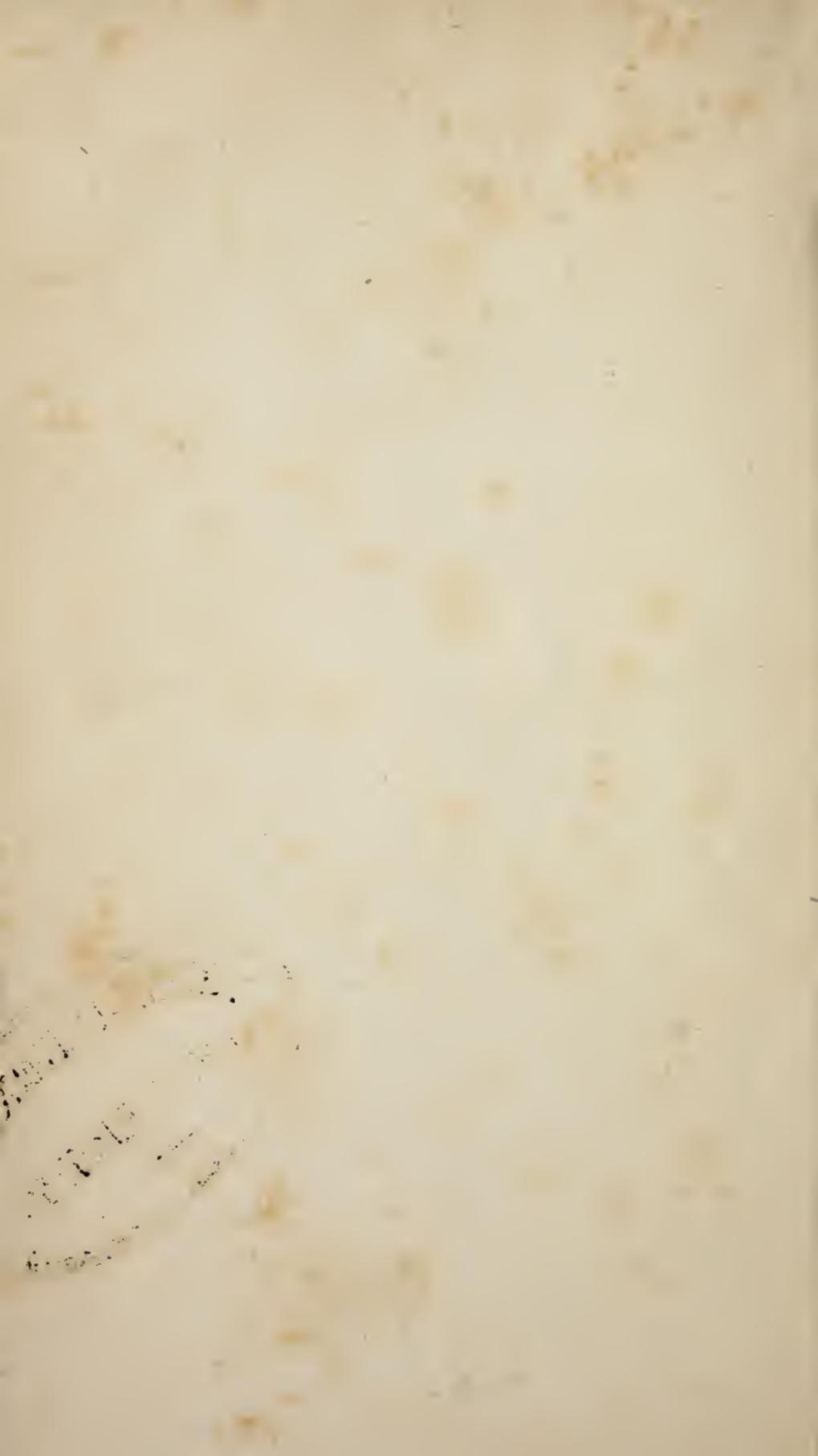
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M E M O I R S

OF

Jules Lamartine

L U C I E N B O N A P A R T E,

(PRINCE OF CANINO.)

W R I T T E N B Y H I M S E L F.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, UNDER THE
IMMEDIATE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE AUTHOR.

PART THE FIRST,

(*From the year 1792 to the year 8 of the Republic.*)

NEW-YORK:

PUBLISHED BY HARPER & BROTHERS,

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INTRODUCTION.

SINCE the consular republic, under all governments, the pamphleteers have too often made me the subject of their leisure. Revelations, secret memoirs, collections of anecdotes, the fruits of imaginations without shame or decency, have not spared me. I have read all of them in my retirement, and I was at first surprised how I could have drawn upon myself so many calumnies, never having offended any person. But my astonishment ceased when I had better appreciated my position : removed from public affairs, without influence, and almost always in silent or open opposition to the powers, though sufficiently near to keep them constantly in fear of my return to favour, how was it possible for the malice of the courtiers to leave me in repose ? And since the downfall of my family, they have thought, without doubt, that it would not be displeasing to the ruling powers to continue their *noble work* of calumny. I resigned myself, therefore, to what appeared to be the natural effect of a position that I had chosen for myself, or had been imposed upon me ; and I have left the field open to those brave gentry who delight in oppressing the proscribed. I have found in my conscience, with which Providence has blessed me, sufficient to console me for every injustice. It is not, therefore, for a personal end that I have resolved to publish these memoirs ; I do it because they appear to offer materials of some value to a history so fruitful in great events, of which the serious study may be useful in future to my country. Public opinion will inform me if I have deceived myself ; and in that case, this first part of my memoirs will be all that I shall allow myself to publish.

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MEMOIRS, ETC.

CHAPTER I.

CORSICA.

"There is still a country in Europe capable of legislation. It is the island of Corsica. The valour and constancy with which those brave people recovered and defended their liberty, merits that some wise man should teach them to preserve it. I have a presentiment that one of these days that little island will astonish Europe."—*Contrat Social de J. J. Rousseau*, chap. x.

The Bonaparte Family—The French Fleet in the Bay of Ajaccio—Popular Society of the Admiral's Vessel—The Marseilles Conscripts—Fate of the Agents of the Ancient Regime—Return of Paoli—His reception at Ajaccio—His sentiments with regard to England and France—His residence at Rostino—His wonderful memory—Our separation—My departure for the Continent—Dangers and Flight.

WHEN the revolution opened in 1789, the grand era of political reform, I entered my fifteenth year. After having been alternately for some time at the college of Autun, and at the military school of Brienne, lastly at the seminary of Aix in Provence, I returned to Corsica. My mother, a widow in the prime of her life, devoted herself to the care of her numerous family. Joseph, the eldest of her children, was twenty-two years of age, and seconded her attentions to us with ardour and with a paternal affection. Napoleon, two years younger than Joseph, was just returned from France with our sister Marianne—Eliza from the Ecole Royale of St. Cyr. Louis, Jerome, Pauline, and Caroline were still children. A brother of my father, the Archidiacre Lucien, was become the chief of our family, and though gouty and bedridden for some time past, he watched over our interests without ceasing. If Providence had struck us with a cruel blow in depriving us so early of our father, it compensated for that loss, as far as possible, in leaving us

yet for some time that excellent uncle, and in endowing the best of mothers with that spirit of constancy and strength of soul, which the future that opened before us furnished the opportunity of giving abundant proofs in a course of wonderful prosperity, as also in that long exile which still holds us beneath its inexorable influence, and of which she had not the consolation to look forward to the termination in her dying hour. A brother, worthy of our mother, the Abbe Fesch, completed our family.

Although holding one of the first ranks in the island, in every respect our fortune was not very brilliant. Several voyages of my father to France, where he was deputy of the noblesse to Louis XVI., and the expenses of our education, superior to his means, notwithstanding the benefits he derived from government, had much impoverished our fortune.

The education of my two elder brothers upon the Continent, mine, and the deputation of our father to Paris, had rendered us entirely French. Corsica had been declared, since the 30th of November, 1789, an integral part of the monarchy; and that declaration, which had satisfied the wishes of the islanders, had completely effaced from their minds the bitter remembrance of the conquest. The philosophical ideas and revolutionary agitations which prevailed upon the Continent, fermented also in our heads; and no one hailed with more ardour than we did the dawn of 1789. Joseph entered into the administration of the department. Napoleon prepared by serious studies to march with giant steps in his career of prodigies. And the third brother, a mere boy, ran to throw himself into the popular societies, with the lively enthusiasm of a youthful and ardent mind, filled with the remembrances of college, and the great names of Rome and Greece.

I think it right to suppress all details that are foreign to public affairs: of what avail would they be? Amid the numerous recollections of my early years, I notice those only which appear to me to be useful. It was, I believe, in 1792, that a numerous fleet, commanded by the brave Admiral Truguet, left Toulon filled with troops, intended for an expedition against Sardinia. This fleet cast anchor in our beautiful bay. On the first news of their arrival the whole population of Ajaccio covered the shore. The sails pointed to the horizon shining in the brilliant rays of a cloudless sun. I flew with the swiftness of an arrow, and joining some members of a club, who, in the absence of my elder brothers, were delighted to follow me. I placed myself at their head, crying "These are our brothers!—these are the tricoloured flags!" We ran like mad creatures along the shore, as if we could have joined the fleet the sooner by going farther from the port. The music, the flags, and the reports of the guns, fired in sign of joy, contributed to increase the effect. But

while we were losing our breath, the vessels, driven by a good wind, entered the bay; perceiving too late that they had the advantage of us, we retraced our steps. In consequence of too much eagerness, we were the last to reach the fleet; but at the name of the popular society, a power at that time new and magical, all ranks gave way before us, and followed by a deputation which proclaimed me their chief, I went on board the admiral's vessel.

The troops of the expedition were composed of young Marseilles conscripts, ill disciplined, and carrying with them into the service the agitation of the clubs. Those young men had communicated to the whole of the crew the desire of political discussion, and in every ship of war they had established a popular society. Thus, notwithstanding their courage, these troops tried the patience of the admiral, and their insubordination caused the failure of the expedition to Sardinia. No sooner were we announced, than the popular society of the admiral's vessel assembled in the grand hall of council for a public sitting. I made a speech, and the president gave me the fraternal embrace, and invited us to the honours of the sitting. This president was steward of the ship, and he harangued us for about half an hour in a manner that it was with difficulty we could preserve our gravity. I remember that he began with a voice alternately deep or piercing, and with the gestures of a maniac, "The more I see, the more I see that patriotism gains everywhere. The more I see, the more I see that the brave sans culottes are irresistible. The more I see, the more I see," &c., &c. !! and he continued thus to repeat his, "*The more I see, the more I see,*" at least twenty times, to the great amusement of his comrades and the sailors. As for us, he recalled to our minds the comedy of les Plaideurs—"When I see the sun, and when I see the moon," &c., &c. The officers of the marines, who were present at our reception, had like us the merit of not laughing aloud. We announced on our part a public sitting for the next day, destined to fraternise with the club of the admiral's vessel; and we departed amid their patriotic acclamations. This solemnity did not greatly edify our islanders; accustomed to let our chiefs speak, and those who distinguished themselves by their talents, we remarked the silence of the officers, the confusion of that clamorous multitude, and we inquired of each other if all the popular societies upon the continent were conducted in the same manner. We prepared without delay to show them our superiority the next day, and certainly it was not a very difficult affair; if the Marseilles, previous to our sitting, had not been desirous of showing us that their actions surpassed even their eloquence.

I was occupied at my desk in preparing a speech that I was to pronounce in the course of a few hours, when I

thought I heard a distant tumult: but soon it became more distinct, and the noise of the shutting of doors every moment was overpowered by the cries of "Serra, serra." (Shut your doors, shut your doors.) The tocsin called everybody to arms. A troop of our friends were running to the house as I went out of it. We marched towards the principal place whence the noise proceeded. The streets were filled with armed men. Near the gate of the town, a woman, with dishevelled hair, was screaming "The Jacobins are assassinating my husband!" She was a Corsican married to a Frenchman, who having filled a post in the administration, was known for his aristocratic principles. It happened unfortunately that he was walking on the pier when the Marseillse landed, and he was pointed out as an aristocrat. Instantly cries of the "aristocrats to the lantern," resounded throughout the multitude that had landed. But that cry, to which the Marseillse were accustomed, intoxicated by their demagogic fanaticism, that cry of tigers, far from finding an echo amid the good citizens of Ajaccio, excited only their indignation and their horror; and they armed themselves in crowds to defend the victim. When I arrived upon the place it was covered by the whole population, thoroughly determined not to suffer our walls to be dishonoured by so cowardly a crime. The officers of the squadron had recalled all the Marseillse. Seconded by our efforts, they succeeded in hurrying them on board their vessels; they appeared no more on land, and certainly we had lost all desire to fraternise with them. The fleet set sail a few days after.

This attempt at political assassination made a profound impression upon my countrymen. In our popular societies they had often denounced the anti-patriotic conversations of the agents of the ancient government; they regretted, without doubt, their lost places; but their yoke had tired us, and we beheld them with an evil eye; their long habit of commanding had not taught them to be prudent. But it had never entered into the head of any islander to kill a man without a motive of personal vengeance, and only because he had been powerful, or that his sentiments differed from ours. To put an end at once to all the embarrassment which these men from the Continent gave us, and who had so long oppressed us, and who had not learned to be silent, we resolved to send them out of the island. A vessel was prepared, and they made them embark all together. "You were not born among us," they were told; "and although we are become French, we cannot look upon those as our fellow-citizens who are the agents of a tyranny that has so long weighed us down. We have saved one of you—we have prevented violence against you; but your presence, and your dangerous discourses annoy us; we will have nothing further to do with you. Go home to your own country, and

leave us in peace." This sentiment was unanimous, the men of the *ancient régime* departed. But in a short time we regretted their departure. We learned too soon that upon their arrival on the Continent they had been all sacrificed by those of their countrymen who tried and executed them in the streets upon the revolutionary lanterns. Certainly not one among them was culpable ; and had it not been for the unfortunate attempt of the troops of the expedition of the fleet, those unfortunate beings (to the number, I believe, of eight or ten) would have terminated their days in peace among us.

The deplorable end of these men, the violence of the revolutionary acts and writings upon the Continent, the attacks that were still more violent every day against religion, changed, during the year 1792, the public opinion in Corsica. Our ancient chief, the celebrated Pascal Paoli, was returned ; he had only passed through Paris, and although they paid him every mark of respect that was due to so great a man, he judged with severity the chief who directed the revolution. Louis XVI. had inspired him with a profound interest. Paoli foresaw the future : he arrived in Corsica uneasy and discontented. Every political phasis increased his discontent. It was at that moment that his arrival at Ajaccio was announced to us. We had for a long time offered up prayers for his return. The enthusiasm which his name alone inspired, gave him a superior moral force over the government. He was the friend, the father, the idol of the towns and hamlets. As soon, therefore, as his arrival was promised at Ajaccio, all business ceased, nothing was thought of but his reception. The authorities, the garrison, the popular society, thought only of Paoli ; their impatience to see him increased every hour.

My age gave me access only to the popular society. I thought night and day of nothing but the discourse that I should pronounce before the hero. But being rather diffident as a young man of my phrases, I had recourse to our library. After having rummaged over all the books without ceremony, I appropriated several passages that pleased me ; and it was above all Bodin and Needham that I secretly put under contribution. I made choice of those civilians the least known, that I might deck myself with some of the spoils without fear of detection. I was desirous, also, to treat of some patriotic subject on the history of Corsica, with the view of leading to applications favourable to our illustrious auditor. I did not need, upon this occasion, to have recourse to foreign aid. I chose for my subject the death of the curate of Guagno, who, surrounded in the hollow of a ravine by the Genoese troops, from whom he could not escape, but upon condition of taking the oath of obedience to the tyrants of his country, preferred to die of hunger. Above twenty years

afterward I celebrated that sublime death in one of the cantos of my poem of the Cirreide, under the name of Rosol. No ancient republic offers in its history a more heroic martyrdom than that of the curate of Guagno. It exalted my imagination; I composed my speech with a palpitating heart, and I believe it possessed sufficient merit to make me regret its loss.

Thus prepared, I ran with a crowd of my countrymen to meet Paoli. He had already received my two elder brothers as the sons of a man who was dear to him, who had possessed his entire confidence, and who had served with him in the war of independence, and he welcomed me as such; his caresses intoxicated me; and I counted the moments that delayed our sitting. It opened at length; Paoli was seated in front of the tribune in an armchair, ornamented with laurels and crowns of oak. I conquered my momentary agitation, and poured forth my fragments of Needham and Bodin with confidence and warmth. I remember only that they dwelt chiefly upon the preference that the people should give to a republican government. Well chosen for the chief of our ancient republic, and adroitly joined together, those fragments of two grave civilians might well cause wonder and astonishment in the mouth of an orator of seventeen; their effect, therefore, surpassed my hopes. Paoli in embracing me called me his little Tacitus. The members of our club, who took their part in my triumph, announced then that I had got another harangue ready on the subject of the death of the curate of Guagno, and Paoli promised us a second audience. This time my success was without alloy. Our hero was affected with the cries of hatred against the Genoese which sprang forth from my subject and resounded in my passionate recital. The hatred of the Genoese, that patriotic passion of his whole life moved every fibre of his soul, and when, in my peroration, the martyred curate pronounced, with an expiring and prophetic voice, the name of Paoli, the avenger of liberty, the tears were seen to flow down the cheek of the venerable father of his country. I enjoyed with delight those tears. Paoli declared that he would take me with him, and that I should never leave him. Heroic old man!—how happy was I to follow thee to the simple residence of Rostino? How little did I then think that my stay with thee would have been of so short a duration, and that the political tempest was soon to separate us for ever?

The village of Rostino is situated in the mountains, and composed only of cottages and some small houses. Paoli inhabited a convent, where he lived with a noble simplicity. He had every day at his frugal but well-served table several guests. Every day a numerous crowd of mountaineers waited for the moment of his going out to see and speak to

him; they surrounded him with filial respect. He spoke to all like a good father; but what at first surprised me extremely, was his recollecting and calling by their names the chiefs of families whom he had not seen for above a quarter of a century. Those calls, that remembrance, produced upon our islanders a magical effect. The fine head of the noble old man, ornamented with his long white hair, his majestic figure, his mild but penetrating look, his clear and sonorous voice, all contributed to throw an inexpressible charm upon what he said. To imagine a patriarch legislator in the midst of his numerous race, I do not think that either painting or poetry could borrow more noble features than those which I contemplated for several months at Rostino.

Notwithstanding my enthusiasm, upon reflecting one day on the prodigious memory of Paoli, I began to question myself how it was possible: the same scene repeated several times at each walk, and almost in the same terms, ended by inspiring me with doubts. I was as much as I could be at the side of my hero—I began by observing all the preparations for these daily walks. A monk went always to the cabinet of Paoli before he walked out; I slyly followed him, and I observed him, for several successive days, descend into the middle of the crowd and talk with the chiefs of those who were waiting for an audience. I was upon the road for making a discovery; it appeared evident to me that the precursor monk supplied by his confidential reports the memory of the patron. I must own that this discovery displeased me; although I observed how greatly that paternal fraud rendered so many good old men happy, the shadow of a deception offended my young imagination, and cooled a little my enthusiasm. I had been less scrupulous as to my first speech—we are always more indulgent towards ourselves.

But the friendship which he evinced towards me appeared to increase every day; and the little cloud which had arisen over our walks was shortly dissipated. Paoli loved to talk to me of England, of the true liberty which reigned in that happy country, of the good sense of its inhabitants, of the admirable equilibrium of its political powers. "England," said he, "is not a monarchy—it is a wise, powerful republic; happy would it be for France if she would take England for her model!" All these conversations astonished me; they were beyond my comprehension; my wise interlocutor did me more honour than I deserved; his lessons appeared strange to me, and soon they ceased to please me. I observed under the Anglomania, which I understood but very vaguely at that time, a little antipathy towards France. It wounded me deeply. Paoli perceived it, and he adjusted his lessons to what he called my college prejudices. He made the same attempt with my two elder brothers that he had made to win me, but with more circumspection, as he was

very anxious to gain us entirely. He had frequent conferences with Joseph and Napoleon ; but he soon saw the inutility of his efforts. Notwithstanding the horror with which the revolutionary excesses inspired us, we felt assured that they would be calmed, and that the benefits of the revolution would survive its atrocities. We were Frenchmen, and we had faith in the future. Besides which, our island had maintained itself pure from the dreadful excesses which had sullied so many communes of the Continent.

We approached, however, the year of 1793. The sentiments of Paoli against France manifested themselves more openly every day ; every day he became more discontented with us, and less certain of persuading us to join with him in the defection which he meditated. The catastrophe of the 21st of January gave the finishing blow to his hatred. He shook with rage : he could no longer contain himself. "Behold!" said he, "your French wallowing in innocent blood—behold them ! well, will you still dare to defend them ? I can no longer bear it. The sons of Charles can never be capable of abandoning me. But the brothers must decide : they must choose between France and me. But there is no longer any France. The monsters have destroyed all who merited to live ; they have murdered their king, the best of men—a saint ! a saint ! a saint ! (he repeated with increasing ardour at every word.) Corsica will have no more to do with them. Neither will I. Let them keep for themselves their blood-stained liberty : it was not made for my brave mountaineers. It were better to return to the Genoese. I expect your brothers—and wo to him who shall pronounce in favour of that horde of brigands—I will not own one of them ; no, not one, not even the sons of Charles !"

I still behold the ardent old man : his countenance sparkled, his anger appeared to aggrandize him. His error was deplorable, since he saw, in our immortal revolution, only the crimes of the reign of terror. It was in vain that we told him that the execrable regicide of Charles the First had not prevented the establishment of English liberty after a time. He would not hear us. But the motive which misled him was as pure as his soul. He was wrong in despairing of the fortune of France—of seeing the salvation of his country only in the union with England, which he esteemed above all other nations. He deceived himself with regard to the future ; but he never ceased, notwithstanding his error, to be worthy of himself. Those who have explained his conduct as arising from motives of vulgar ambition, did not know him. Peace ! honour ! and glory to his ashes ! they are worthy of the pantheon of a great and free nation ; they are worthy to repose beneath the roof of Westminster Abbey.

The ancient chief of our country, the friend of our father, the man whom we admired and loved the most, was on one side—France was on the other. We separated from Paoli. I quitted Rostino, and I returned to Ajaccio to keep our friends in their duties. Joseph ceased to have any influence in the departmental administration. Napoleon rejoined the representatives of the people at Bastia. The opinion of Paoli influenced the whole island. On the 26th of April, 1793, Corsica renounced France; they formed a parliament, or extraordinary assembly of the deputies of all the communes. Paoli was nominated generalissimo and supreme chief. The recall of the emigrants, the reintegration of the clergy, and the proscription of the French emissaries and their partisans was decreed. The tricoloured flag was abolished everywhere, except at Ajaccio, which we succeeded in keeping within bounds. Perceiving that the storm was about to burst over us, the popular society determined upon sending a deputation to the popular society at Marseilles, and to that of the Jacobins at Paris, to solicit their prompt aid. I was named chief of that deputation, and we departed a few hours afterward. We well knew him who had raised the standard of war. We were aware we had not a moment to lose.

Scarcely, indeed, had we departed, when the spirit of insurrection broke out, and knew no longer any limits. "Vive Paoli! Long live Paoli! Let Paoli alone govern us: we will have only what he ordains. Death to his enemies!" Such were the clamours of the immense majority. The horn of the islanders resounded in every valley, and its menacing tones carried defiance even to the ramparts of Ajaccio. My mother had at that time with her only her two youngest sons, three daughters, and her brother, the Cardinal Fesch; but it was not the first time that she had performed the part of both father and mother to her family; and she again displayed that firm and courageous spirit which characterized her early years, during the wars of independence. She provided for all, like an expert chieftain. She despatched numerous messages to Joseph and Napoleon, both by sea and land; and gave notice that they would soon arrive in the port with the representatives of the people, and succeeded in neutralizing the partisans of Paoli in the town.

But this great chief had not forgotten, either, the art of making the most of time. To regain us or to stop us, he determined to have the most precious hostages; and while waiting for the French fleet, my mother was on the point of falling into the hands of irritated enemies.

Awakened suddenly in the middle of the night, she beheld her chamber filled with armed mountaineers. She at first imagined that she was surprised by her enemies; but by the light of a torch of fir which fell upon the countenance of the chief, she felt reassured. It was Costa of Bastelica, the most

devoted of our partisans. "Quick, make haste, Signora Letizia; Paoli's men are close upon you—you have not a moment to lose: but here I am with all my men. We will save you, or perish with you!"

Bastelica is one of the most populous villages in Corsica, situated at the foot of Monte d'Oro, in the middle of a forest of chestnuts, the growth of centuries. It contains inhabitants renowned for their courage and audacity, and for unbounded fidelity in their affections. One of those intrepid hunters, while traversing the chain of mountains which separates the island into two parts, had encountered a numerous troop, who were descending towards Ajaccio. He had learned that this troop was to be introduced during the night into the town by the party of Paoli, in order to carry off our family prisoners to Rostino. He had even heard it affirmed, that they were to take all the children of Charles alive or dead. To return like an arrow to his village, and inform the chief of our partisans to arm all who had a gun or a poniard, and traverse, with hasty strides, the forest of Bastelica—was but the affair of a moment. After several hours of a forced march, our brave friends entered the town during the night, about three hundred in number, and had only preceded our enemies by a few miles.

My mother and her children arose in haste, having only time to take their clothes with them; and placed in the centre of the column, they left the town in silence—the inhabitants being still plunged in sleep. They entered into the deepest recesses of the mountains, and at break of day they halted in a forest, from whence they could discover a part of the shore. Several times the fugitives heard from their encampment the troops of the enemy traverse the neighbouring valleys; but Providence deigned to spare them from an encounter that must have been fatal. On the same day the flames, arising in thick columns from the middle of the town, attracted the eyes of our friends. "*That is your house which is burning,*" said one of them to my mother. "Ah! never mind!" she replied, "*we will build it up again much better — vive la France!*" After two nights of a march skilfully directed, they at length perceived the sails of the French frigate. My mother took leave of her brave defenders, and rejoined her eldest sons on board the frigate of the representatives of the people. The rage of our enemies was thus reduced to expend itself upon the stones of our house.

CHAPTER II.

THE REIGN OF TERROR.

"Beneath the despotism of one only or of several,
We risk becoming the victim. Beneath democratic
Despotism, besides the same danger multiplied a
Hundred fold, we run another still more horrible—
That of becoming executioners!"

Popular Society of Marseilles—The Cannebriere—Arrival of my Family—
Saint Maximin—The Dictatorship of a little Town—The Suspected—
The Carts with the Victims—Robespierre and his Brother—It is not yet
time!

I HAD departed with the deputation from Ajaccio, and a favourable wind wafted us to France in twenty-four hours. I had left it about four years without having finished my studies at the seminary of Aix; and I was now about to reappear in it, charged with a political mission. My vanity was exalted to so high a pitch, that I fancied myself a personage of sufficient importance, who could not fail to attract the notice of the crowd which covered the port of Marseilles, where we landed in the evening. We scarcely allowed ourselves a moment of repose, so great was our anxiety to arrive at the popular society. In a vast saloon, which admitted very little light, were seated the members of the society, all of them with red caps on their heads. The galleries were filled with noisy women. As soon as the president had announced that a deputation of patriots from Corsica were the bearers of important news, a hearing was allowed us, and I was called to the tribune before I had thought of what I was to say. I began by declaring that the nation was betrayed in Corsica, and that we were come to invoke the aid of our brothers. As I was ignorant at that moment of the flight of my family, I did not feel any personal hatred against Paoli. I wished to keep fair with him; but the acclamations from the galleries augmented in proportion to the violence of my words, and for the first time I experienced how much the passions of those who listen have power over those who speak. Carried away by the cries and the applauses from the galleries, I soon began to talk in a manner calculated to increase their excitement. It was not only a speedy succour

that I demanded, but I painted Paoli as having abused the national confidence, and who had only returned into his island that he might deliver it up to the English. They, above all, were not spared in my figures of rhetoric. It was the chord most likely to touch the feelings of my auditors, and I made it my favourite theme. I was over-powered with embraces and compliments: they would not let me quit the tribune; and I chattered away for about two hours at random. Motion upon motion followed one after the other. An order for printing my speech; a message to the administrators of the departments to send troops to the aid of Ajaccio; a deputation of three members to accompany us to the Jacobins of Paris, to denounce the treason of Paoli and demand vengeance—all these measures were adopted with urgency and unanimity. My colleagues not having funds sufficient for the journey to Paris, I determined upon accompanying the deputies of Marseilles alone, and we left the assembly together at midnight.

Solitude and repose having calmed my mind, the image of that Paoli, who for so long a time had been the object of my worship, began to trouble my inmost soul in a manner that very much resembled remorse. I recalled to mind our conversations at Rostino. I had been uttering without premeditation sentiments in direct opposition to those which, for several months, I had heard proceed from lips which I revered. Furious cries against Paoli had replied to my impassioned eloquence. They had associated with me, to accompany me to Paris, a set of men whose repulsive aspect, savage language, the *ton* of the *Halles* in their manners, had disagreeably surprised me. After an agitated sleep, I awoke discontented and undecided. The Marseilles deputies came to fetch me to breakfast with them at the *café*: I followed them. They conducted me to the *Cannebrière*, the principal street of Marseilles. I admired that long place surrounded with superb edifices: an immense crowd of men, women, and children were walking, and pushing against each other to get on. I inquired of one of the *brothers and friends*,* if it was a day of festival. "Oh no!" he replied, with great tranquillity, "it is only about twenty aristocrats who are making a tumble: don't you see them?" I looked in the direction to which he pointed—and I beheld the guillotine, red with blood, at work. It was the richest merchants whom they had, for above a quarter of an hour, been murdering! and that crowd, whom their bounty had so often fed, were then walking in the street of the *Cannebrière* to enjoy the spectacle! and the shops were full of customers as usual, and the *cafés* were open! and the cakes and gingerbread were circulating around as upon the day of a fair!!!

* Name which the Jacobins gave themselves.—*Note of the Translator*

Never shall I forget the first time I walked in the streets of Marseilles.

I left the coffee house upon I know not what pretext, as soon as possible, and I declared the next day that I would not go to Paris ; that the deputies of the Marseilles Club did not want me to accompany them to fulfil their mission, and that I should await the promised succours to return to Corsica with my companions.

A few days afterward my fugitive family arrived in the port of Marseilles, deprived of every resource, but full of courage and in good health. Joseph, Napoleon, and myself, struggled against our ill fortune. Napoleon, an officer of artillery, devoted the chief part of his income towards the support of his family. Joseph was appointed commissary of war, and I was placed in the administration of the military subsistences. Under the title of refugee patriots, we obtained rations of ammunition, bread, and those moderate succours sufficed to maintain us, aided above all by the good management and economy of our excellent mother. The recital of the dangers that she had met, the burning of our property, and the order to take us dead or alive, that had been given by Paoli, would soon have vanquished all further scruples on my part ; and I should have gone to Paris very willingly, if the Marseilles deputation had not already set out. At the same time, my employment required my presence at St. Maximin, a small town a few leagues distant from Marseilles : and I went there to succeed the keeper of the military stores, who was promoted to the rank of inspector.

The republic had been but a few months in existence ; and its arms victorious over foreigners, plunged deeper every day into its own vitals. Already the populace were become too much accustomed to the scaffold. *Wo to those who stop !* had said the savage Collot d'Herbois. The orators of the Gironde, grown wise too late, and desirous of enjoying their victory, had wished to stop, when the 31st of May arrived to overthrow them. The departments that had embraced their defence had laid down their arms. Danton and Robespierre had pushed the republic beyond all limits. To mark with one word that melancholy epoch, the title of *moderate* was a sentence of death. The constitution, purely democratic of 1793, was little worthy of its author, the philosopher Condorcet. Although accepted by the primary assemblies, it was about to be suspended as impracticable and the dictatorship of the convention was sustained by the levy *en masse*, by the laws against the suspected, by the forced loan and the maximum, but above all by the irresistible valour of our armies, who had thrown down all obstacles before them. The convention marched victorious up to their knees in blood ! Lyons and La Vendee alone dared to

resist that terrible dictatorship. Every commune in France, from the largest to the smallest, had a club and a revolutionary committee which absorbed all the power when the commissaries of the convention were absent. Such was the crisis which agitated all the fibres of society when I found myself launched, at eighteen years of age, in the middle of Provence, separated from my family, far from all my beloved countrymen, alone—a stranger without acquaintance in a town divided into parties furiously exasperated against each other.

I arrived at St. Maximin about the end of August in that year, at the moment when the revolutionary army of General Carteaux came to Marseilles to repress the spirit of rebellion excited by the example of Lyons, which obstinately resisted the forces of the convention. Some days after, Toulon surrendered to the combined fleets of England and Spain, thinking to submit to the Bourbons, which it was certainly very pardonable to prefer to the reign of terror: but the hatred of treason, and the horror of a foreign yoke, raised to the highest pitch the universal indignation of the people. As for myself, I beheld in the invaders of Toulon those same English whom Paoli had called, after having separated our island from France, and for whom we had been driven from our home. The tribune of St. Maximin soon, therefore, resounded with the speeches of the young Corsican refugee; and the popular favour carried me rapidly from the armchair of the society, to the presidency of the revolutionary committee. In a few days I had acquired a little dictatorship, and although this success was quite unlooked for, I was not the less proud of having obtained it. To strengthen my influence, I passed all my evenings at the Patriotic Club—where the whole town came to hear me. The few persons who were well educated were shut up as suspected: it was not then very surprising that I should have the advantage over all my rivals of the tribune. There was not, therefore, any applause but for me. The women, rich and poor, came regularly to the sittings, bringing with them their work, and all worked that they might not be accused of aristocracy, and joined in chorus with the men in applauding me, and in singing the patriotic hymns.

So great and easy a success might have turned my head, if I had been ill inclined or weak; for what evil might I not have done, or have suffered to have been done? Who would have thought in that little demagogical Babylon, of daring to repress a harebrained youth, whose inflammatory speeches in the evening at the club, and the signature in the day at the committee, could have thrown terror and death into the bosom of a thousand families? A convent was filled with the suspected. It depended upon us to make the arbitrary choice in these mournful asylums of innocence, and to ex-

pedite them to Orange! The revolutionary tribunal of Orange was the worthy tribunal of aid to Fouquier Tinville! Poor France!

How many times I have thanked Providence for not having abandoned me to the intoxication of so extraordinary a position, so dangerous at my age, and for having surrounded me with plain and simple persons ready to assist me in the good intentions with which I had inspired them, as they would have been equally ready to have aided me, had I been inclined to commit excesses; for in those moments of democratical despotism, (the worst of all despotisms,) the power of an orator, as long as he commands popular favour, is stronger than public conscience. I have often looked back upon myself, and I have felt that my good sentiments were powerfully seconded by favourable circumstances. I was a refugee patriot, and a martyr to the revolutionary cause; these titles placed me beyond the reach of being suspected of aristocracy and of moderation. I could to a certain point brave the most prevailing prejudices, and follow the right road; but if, like many others, instead of these fortunate antecedent circumstances, I had been placed between my personal security and my conscience—if the terrible, the inexorable (*en avant! en avant!*) forward! forward! of the menacing democracy, had resounded without ceasing behind me—if, like so many others, I had been reduced to the infernal alternative of *kill or die!*—can I be quite certain of what might have befallen me? I flatter myself that I should have remained faithful to the good side, and that my moral courage would not have deserted me. Yet how many Frenchmen, who were as good, or perhaps better than me—have they not slipped upon the edge of the precipice? How many of those unfortunate beings, born of parents equally virtuous as my own, and gifted like me with a good education—have they not fallen? Yes, it is by far the worst of all social states, where an honest man is exposed to become criminal; where the fate of every one is at the mercy of all; where we are never certain of what we may say, what we may do, or what will become of us on the morrow. Young men!—read the history of 1793, not in the pleadings of those rhetoricians who call themselves historians, but in the pages of the inexorable Moniteur; read with patience, and you, like your fathers, will hold the government of the multitude in detestation. Beneath the despotism of one alone, or of several, we risk becoming the victims—beneath the democratic despotism, besides the same danger multiplied a hundred fold, we run another still more horrible—that of becoming executioners!

If we seek justly to appreciate that great tempest of 1793, two sentiments will simultaneously arise from that serious examination: indulgence and pity for the individuals who

were influenced by being so cruelly circumstanced—but also hatred, strong, durable, and profound, for the government of the multitude.

But we will return to St. Maximin. About twenty, at least, of the inhabitants were confined as suspected persons. I found them commodiously lodged and tolerably well treated. My revolutionary committee was composed of artisans and work people, and an ancient monk, the only one of them who could write, and who, before my arrival, was at their head. I was fortunate enough to inspire this ex-monk with a species of enthusiasm for me. He had nothing particularly amiable in his character, but he was not mischievous; he followed me everywhere, and resigned to me the pre-eminence with all his heart, and was as useful to me as he might have been prejudicial. I placed him, therefore, in my administration, and gained him entirely. The situation of the suspected was ameliorated, and some of them were let out to act in patriotic pieces in a private theatre; and, above all, the committee came to the resolution not to send any of them to the butchery of Orange. One lady, very amiable and of good birth, was more compromised than any of the others; she was the sister of the author of the "Travels of Antenor." I had a great deal of trouble in persuading her to represent republican pieces; but I would not give up so good an actress, and I almost forced her to perform the part of Junie with us in the Brutus of Voltaire. This little act of dictatorship, however, was the means of giving liberty to my victim. We thus passed the least terribly that we could, that most dreadful year. We were small in acts, but in requital we were not sparing of words and addresses to the Jacobins of Paris. As it was the fashion to take antique names, our ex-monk took, I believe, the name of Epaminondas, and I that of Brutus. All the other members of the committee followed our example, and in our sittings we could have made a vocabulary of Greek and Roman names. They have in a pamphlet attributed to Napoleon this borrowed name of Brutus, but it belonged only to me. Napoleon thought to elevate his own name above all those of ancient history; and if he had been desirous of figuring in those masquerades, I do not think he would have made choice of the name of Brutus.

The good inhabitants of St. Maximin let me do as I pleased; they were as well satisfied with our theatrical representations, as with the declamations from the tribune. The women were delighted that there had never been a single victim in our little town, and that we performed comedies. I believe, indeed, that at that period there were very few communes of whom they could say so much good.

But a storm from the higher regions was about to burst over our heads. Barras and Fréron were at Marseilles!

Some months which had elapsed, after my arrival at St. Maximin, had been filled with the successes and crimes of the Jacobins. In September, Lyons had fallen. Collot d'Herbois and Fouché of Nantes had there courageously destroyed with grape shot the vanquished population, and pulled down with French hands the finest edifices of the second town of France, which forty years afterward was doomed to be again delivered up to the horrors of civil war. The army of General Carteaux, with whom was Napoleon, was besieging Toulon. The proscriptions of the suspected, organized more widely by the law of Merlin de Douia, extended over three hundred thousand citizens, and consigned them without mercy to the dictatorship of each of the communes.

In October, Marié Antoinette was dragged to a scaffold in a tumbril, with her hands tied, in the midst of six hundred thousand Parisians, stupified and trembling before a handful of brigands.

In November, the assassins deified themselves with their mock worship of Reason; for that Reason which they endeavoured to substitute for the Gospel was but an idol bathed in human blood, which presided over their frantic orgies: the heads of the Girondines, of Bailli and Lavoisier, those worthy interpreters of true reason, were the first sacrifices of the new worship. Powerful members of the convention traversed the departments to prevent the rage of the populace from cooling. Barras and Fréron were at Marseilles! Our little commune vainly hoped to escape from their lynx eyes. Some miserable denunciator had informed them that St. Maximin had not furnished the smallest repast for the guillotine, and that in the house of our suspected, open to the families of the prisoners, they were sufficiently calm to make a practice of amusing themselves with the charms of music. They immediately took the resolution of destroying such a *scandal*, and two families of the *inquisition* were charged to put us in the right road.

I was walking one day with the ex-monk Epaminondas, when an old woman, whose son was among the suspected, ran towards us. "In the name of Heaven," she cried, "citizen president, come and defend us: they are carrying off our children to Orange. Remember what you promised us." "To Orange!" I exclaimed; "and without an order from the committee! Let the tocsin be instantly sounded." We returned to the town as fast as possible, and we encountered on our road numerous persons dispersed in the fields in search of me. The whole town was in an uproar. I renewed the order to sound the tocsin, which was instantly obeyed. I then convoked the popular society and the committee upon the place which was close to the house where the prisoners were confined, and I ran thither accompanied

by about a hundred persons. The prison was surrounded by an amazed crowd, who prevented us from seeing the door of entrance. They made way for us. Five or six carts were there already filled with part of our prisoners chained together. A man, girt with a tricoloured scarf and a hat and feathers, presided over the ceremony, surrounded by some gend'armes and accompanied by a secretary, beplumed like himself, who was writing in his portfolio the names of the victims. The chief of the band was one of the familiars of Barras. I sprang before him. "In the name of the law," I cried, "retire from hence. The revolutionary committee have not ordered any delivery of the prisoners. The popular society is about to assemble; come there and present your authority, and in the mean time let the suspected be replaced whence they were taken. Gend'armes, release the suspected." The familiar, surprised at my audacity, attempted at first to frighten me with the names of those who sent him; he called me a ci-devant and a moderate, and endeavoured to continue his work. The gend'armes, who had already in the same way cleared out several prisons, acknowledged only the mission of their chief; and the names of the club and committee, so powerful to kill and destroy, were too feeble to save. Fortunately, the tocsin had raised all the population; the relatives of the victims had regained courage at my words. Several were armed. I profited by my advantage, and ordered the crowds to release the captives, and the delegates to follow me to the committee. In a few moments the suspected were in their chambers, and the doors of the house, well closed, were guarded by a numerous troop who acknowledged only my orders. Thirty victims were thus saved; and, thank God, I cared but little for the danger, to which I had exposed myself with all my heart.

The delegate of the representatives of the people was but a miscreant, whom I afterward heard had been one of the servants of Barras. He sought after these missions to provide for the guillotine; but he was not in order with his papers, and fortunately for us he was frightened. In the presence of the united committee, I demanded his papers; he stammered and hesitated. Whether he had not got them, or whether he was afraid of compromising his master, whom we had, in our turn, threatened to denounce at Paris, he became pacified by degrees, and told us he had been deceived; that he only acted from motives of pure patriotism, and according to the orders of the members of the convention; that he had not got his papers about him, but that he depended upon us, and that he had nothing further to say, since the revolutionary committee was presided over by a Corsican patriot; and the popular society had all agreed not to expedite any of the suspected to Orange. We received

all his compliments without confiding too much in them, when all of a sudden he decided upon going away. He would not even do us the honour to sleep at St. Maximin, and he disappeared with his alguazils. Among the suspected whom I had saved, were several members of the Rey family, one of the most respectable in the town—but it will be seen hereafter the recompense I received for my kindness from a young man belonging to that family; but his conduct towards me did not prevent me from considering that day to be one of the happiest in my life.

The end of that demagogical year was marked by the taking of Toulon. It was in 1793 that the genius of Napoleon was revealed to the French nation!!! But the tempest was destined to continue a length of time before the transient meteor of the social organization could arise upon the horizon triumphant over every storm. The first months of 1793 beheld, on the contrary, the Jacobins redouble their atrocities, and Robespierre, the most cruel hypocrite and the greatest coward of them all, obtained an unlimited power. Some ardent imaginations have not hesitated to celebrate the praises of that man, and of his accomplices, Couthon and St. Just. They have not even feared to insinuate that Robespierre was a patriotic victim immolated by envious conspirators more guilty than himself. They have maintained that he fell because he did not wish to proceed in the path of crime. These assertions are contradicted by facts. The revolutionary tribunal was never more active than during the last months of the power of that merciless tribunal. It was then that were struck, with precipitated blows, all those whom birth, fortune, or talents distinguished from the crowd. In the month of April, Malesherbes, the most virtuous of men, was dragged to the scaffold, at seventy-two years of age, in the same cart with his sister, his son-in-law, his daughter, his granddaughter, and the husband of that young woman! Even the judges of Fouquier Tinville turned away their eyes at the aspect of the venerable old man. Robespierre, far from stopping, caused Lavoisier to be condemned (in May) a few days after Malesherbes; and that he might have nothing to envy the most savage tyrants, he dared to sacrifice the honour of her sex, the angel who bore upon earth the name of Elizabeth! Robespierre was then at the height of his power. Because he afterward decimated his accomplices, and because he struck at Danton and his partisans, was he, for that reason, to be considered more excusable? Blood cannot wash away blood; and as for his festival of the Supreme Being, what else was it but contempt for the religion of all Frenchmen and a denial of the Gospel? Blood was not sufficient for the incorruptible! He desired even to thrust his sacrilegious hands into the deepest recesses of our consciences. No; so many crimes

can never be comprised in the philosophical sentiment of indulgence. We should strike them, each and every one of us, with an exceptless anathema, especially when these horrible names have lately resounded as a rallying signal in the ears of France and dismayed Europe.

The brother of Robespierre, after the capture of Toulon, had been sent as commissary to the army of the Alps. Napoleon was considered as the hero of that memorable siege, and was appointed general of brigade; he was at Nice, where he commanded the artillery. His connection with the army had brought about an intimacy with the young Robespierre, who appreciated him. It appears that the ruler of the convention had been informed of the uncommon talents of the conqueror of Toulon, and that he was desirous of replacing the commandant of Paris, Henriot, whose incapacity began to weary him. Here is a fact which I witnessed.

My family owed to the promotion of Napoleon a more prosperous situation. To be nearer to him, they had established themselves at the Chateau Sallé, near Antibes, a few miles distant only from the head quarters of the general. I had left St. Maximin to pass a few days with my family and my brother. We assembled together; and the general gave us every moment that was at his own disposal. He arrived one day more preoccupied than usual, and while walking between Joseph and myself, he announced to us that it depended upon himself to set out for Paris the next day, and to be in a position by which he could establish us all advantageously. For my part, the news enchanted me: to go to the great capital appeared to be the height of felicity that nothing could outweigh.

"They offer me," said Napoleon, "the place of Henriot. I am to give my answer this evening. Well, what say you to it?" We hesitated a moment. "Eh! eh!" rejoined the general; "but it is worth the trouble of considering. It is not a case to be the enthusiast upon; it is not so easy to save one's head at Paris as at St. Maximin. The young Robespierre is an honest fellow; but his brother is not to be trifled with. He will be obeyed. Can I support that man? No, never! I know how useful I should be to him in replacing his simpleton of a commandant of Paris; *but it is what I will not be.* It is not yet time; there is no place honourable for me at present but the army: we must have patience. *I shall command Paris hereafter.*" Such were the words of Napoleon. He then expressed to us his indignation against the reign of terror, of which he announced the approaching downfall. He finished by repeating several times, half gloomy, half smiling, "What should I do in that galley?" The young Robespierre solicited him in vain. A few weeks after, the 9th Thermidor arrived to deliver

France, and justified the foresight of the general. If Napoleon had taken the command of Henriot, on which side would have been the victory? Ten days before the 9th Thermidor, the defection of Paoli had been consummated. A general parliament under his presidency offered to the King of England the title of King of Corsica, which was accepted; but with which the English were not contented. Paoli soon suffered the punishment of his error: those whom he had called desired to reign in the island where his presence rendered every other domination than his impossible. There was, therefore, a perpetual struggle between them. What regrets must he not have suffered in his last days!—for he lived a sufficient time to behold that France, which he had abandoned, arise up from the abyss into which she had fallen. He lived long enough to behold the victories and the accession to the consulate of that son of Charles whose head he had proscribed.

CHAPTER III.

THE REACTION.

“ Let those who are without reproach cast the first stone.”

St. Maximin after the 9th Thermidor—Error of Carnot—St. Chaman—The Companions of Jesus—The Prison of Aix—The Song called “Le Réveil du Peuple”—The Thirteenth of Vendémiaire.

THE Jacobin terrorists had so completely oppressed all ranks of society, that the reaction was certain to be violent. Every day, notwithstanding the convention and its committees, opinion advanced with rapidity towards another order of ideas. The young Robespierre had evinced much esteem towards General Bonaparte; and that was sufficient to cause him to be proscribed. Arrested upon imputations the most frivolous and groundless, restored to liberty a few days after, he was definitely deposed, and he went to Paris to solicit an employment. Barras, more powerful than ever, received him favourably enough to give him some hopes. Joseph had retired to Genoa. On my side I began to perceive the inclinations of the well disposed around me, change to coldness and disdain. The suspected, restored to their families, forgot very soon that we had prevented their being sent to the guillotine, and remembered only their detention. They

filled the popular society. The favour of the multitude left us gradually, in order to attach itself to the counter revolutionary party. This party, justly irritated at what it had suffered, beheld in the republic the cause of its misfortunes. It confounded the Jacobins and the moderates, the executioners and the liberators, all together in the same anathema. For them, republic and terror were one and the same thing ; and how was it possible that it could be otherwise, since, after *forty years*, the opinion of the majority of the French is still subjugated by the same prejudices ? Although I was in a small town at a distance from Paris, I was well placed to judge the movements of the reaction. I saw that, far from contenting themselves with overthrowing the demagogical reign of terror, they were about to create a new terror. I thought, therefore, after the 9th Thermidor, of soliciting a change of residence in my administration ; but the solicitations of the patriots of St. Maximin detained me in the midst of them for some months longer. They redoubled in activity. We disputed the ground with the revolutionists, and we regained sufficient influence to reassure us.

Thus, in our little corner of the earth, we performed the parody of that which was passing at the convention, where the tail of the committee of public safety endeavoured to retain the direction of the political movement ; but the parody was better than the piece, for we had never stained with blood our municipal dictatorship, while the companions of Robespierre, having shared in his crimes, found themselves, by their antecedent conduct, obliged to justify the excesses of the reign of terror. Carnot himself, the most esteemed and the most estimable of the members of the committee, had even dared to say, when he announced the triumphs of our armies,

“These victories are the effects of the measures with which they reproach us as crimes. It is with these successes that we render an account of all the blood that we have shed.”

Carnot sought thus to cover with the shield of his high renown his too guilty colleagues ; but that which was generous as a private man, was a serious fault for a statesman. It was giving reason to the royalists, who confounded in one all the shades of republicanism. They calumniated, likewise, the French people, in supposing that the blood shed upon the scaffold had been necessary for the prodigies of our armies. Far from that—our armies performed prodigies of valour, notwithstanding the horror with which the crimes of the interior inspired them. The prompt and violent measures of the administration, the conscriptions, the forced circulation of the assignats, the forced loan, and even the maximum, had, without doubt, contributed to our military

successes ; but never did a drop of blood shed by our tyrants upon the scaffold have the slightest influence over our victories—never. *Savans*, learned men employed by the committee of the public safety, contributed greatly to those victories in creating extraordinary means, by which they obtained twelve millions of saltpetre in a few months, instead of one million, the ordinary produce. They owed to them fifteen foundries of bronze and iron, instead of six that had formerly existed ; twenty new manufactories of arms, two hundred workshops for repairing, the telegraph, and the balloon applied to military service. In a word, they owed to them the perfection of all the arts of war, and the simplification of processes by the most profound theories. But if even Bailli and Lavoisier had not fallen beneath their conventional proscriptions, would those sciences which the republic made use of have been less useful in their results ?

It was then absurd to say that the blood that was shed had served us in our victories ; it was certainly not the blood of the chiefs of science, nor of the old men, women, and children—nor that of the martyred king, of his wife, and his sister—nor that of the marriages in the vessels of the Loire, nor of those who fell by the murderous grape shot at Lyons and Toulon. The false position in which Carnot found himself, made him say what he would never else have thought of saying. He shut his eyes upon what might be the result of that conduct which in the departments struck us with stupor, and encouraged the fury of the enemies of the revolution.

“Behold,” said they, “that atrocious convention supports Barrère, Billaud, Collot, Carrier, Fouquier Tinville : those who overthrew Robespierre are not, then any better than he. All they wanted to do was to save themselves. We must get rid of them altogether : we must disarm and imprison, in their turn, all those who served under the government of terror.”

During the first months after Thermidor, the conduct of the convention did the greatest injury to the patriots of the provinces ; its hesitation, its unskilful returns towards the reign of blood, compromised the republic. We multiplied addresses to them, in order to satisfy at length the universal indignation against the principal accomplices of Robespierre, the only measure to prevent the people from doing justice to themselves. After three months of error, the convention began to open their eyes, but not soon enough to be beforehand in the South, with the companies of the Companions of Jesus, and of the Sun, who took, as a pretext for their organization, the impunity of the great criminals. In November, 1794, Carrier (a name for which there is not a sufficient epithet in the human language) ceased to stain the soil of France. In January, 1795, the cavern of the Jacobins was

closed. In April, he who talked of the awakening of the lion, might, with more truth, have said the awakening of the tiger; and the other, who took the balance of the guillotine as the die for coining money, was, with one of the two executioners of Lyons, condemned to transportation. In May, the infernal judge was judged in his turn.

The partisans of the reign of terror, beaten on the day of the 12th Germinal, could not prevent the banishment of their chiefs; and the convention, after these inevitable measures that it had too long retarded, could resume with less embarrassment the course of its dictatorship. The last part of the year 1795 was the most glorious for the convention. It knew how to subdue in turn the convulsions of terrorism, and the daring conspiracies of the royalists.

Cured of its demagogical delirium, it prepared the basis of the directorial constitution founded upon the division into two chambers of the legislative power. It owed to this newly acquired wisdom, as much as our armies, the reconciliation of the republic with several powers. The treaties of peace with Tuscany, La Vendee, Prussia, Holland, and Spain, succeeded each other after short intervals. But while the convention substituted a great deal of good for all the evil it had permitted to be committed, the royalists of the South had in their turn enlisted bands of assassins. The horrible cry of *Ca Ira!*—the *aristocrats to the lantern!* had been succeeded by a hymn not less horrible, called “The Awaking of the People.” An improvident law had ordained the disarming of the terrorists, and under that name all the republicans had been disarmed. It was no longer possible, therefore, to resist the counter revolutionists. I hastened to quit St. Maximin; and I set out as inspector in a military administration for the commune of St. Chaman, near the town of Cette, while Napoleon, rejected at Paris by the committee of war, thought of seeking service in the East.

St. Chaman was quiet enough. As chief of the administration, I was very well received; they occupied themselves with politics as everywhere else, but without going to extremes. My office occupied me only a part of the day, and I went generally to pass my afternoons with a very amiable family, the most considerable in the commune, whose name I am ashamed to have forgotten. They played in general at little innocent games in the garden of the house, where several of the neighbours, both old and young, were assembled. I was closely engaged one day in declaiming, I know not what verses, to redeem a pledge, when I was informed that an officer was at the door and desired to speak to me. I made great haste to go to him, thinking it was some affair belonging to the service; and upon seeing the personage, I was surprised, but not alarmed. It was the young Auguste Rey of St. Maximin, whose parents had been

fastened with cords upon one of the carts, ready to depart for the tribunal of Orange, when I rescued them. The presence of that young man, who was scarcely sixteen years of age, was agreeable to me, and I was only astonished to see him in a brilliant uniform. It was the uniform adopted by the assassins of the South, too celebrated under the fantastic name of the Companions of Jesus.

"Well, Auguste, what do you want with me—and how are your parents?"

"March, brigand, and give me your hands," was his reply; and taking from his pocket a strong cord, he prepared to tie my hands. Resistance was useless—others of the Companions of Jesus were there. I was then strongly fastened, and conducted to my lodging to deliver up my papers. Auguste held the end of the cord, and menaced me with his sword to make me go faster. All our companions of the games ran to speak in my favour as they followed me. "He is a Jacobin," replied my grateful young man: "it is now our turn to be the masters. Go on," he cried; "and you, citizens, be quiet and let us alone."

I must own that the intervention of those young ladies was little agreeable to me. I should have preferred for them not to have seen me in so sad a plight. They took my papers, and everything I possessed; and after having handcuffed me, my guard made me mount with him in a cabriolet, his companions mounted on horseback, and we set off. "Where are you going to take me? Are you going to cut my throat, as a recompense for having saved your parents?"

"No, you have nothing to fear upon that score. I shall take you to the prison of Aix."

"To the prison of Aix! Why it is only a few days since the prisoners were massacred. It is as bad as the prison of Orange."

It was in vain I used all my efforts to shake the resolution of my keeper. He dragged me to the prison of Aix. Those young persons, who had all the appearance of having been well brought up, bellowed incessantly in my ear the burden of the song of the awaking of the people. They shall not escape us. In consigning me to the jailer, Auguste exclaimed, "*Here! there is another in the cage; keep good guard over him for us against our first visit!*" I entered into that horrible house, where, notwithstanding it had been washed several times, the traces of blood were still visible of the unfortunate beings whom they had assassinated seven or eight days before. It was again filled. The chamber which I occupied contained about a hundred prisoners

That I may not have to speak again of the unfortunate young man, I will observe here that I heard no more of him until several years after. I then heard that, after having plunged into every excess of vice, he at length expatriated

himself, and had died miserably, far distant from his honourable family, who held his conduct in horror.

The demagogical party, driven to despair at Paris, organized a last effort more terrible than any of the preceding. The hall of the assemblies, invaded, was soiled with the blood of the representative Ferraud. The vilest populace committed every excess in the fatal days of Praireal, (the end of May, 1795.) The convention was at time truly great. The calm of Boissy d'Anglas, its president, the sublime attitude of that assembly, silently seated upon their benches, distant but two steps from those who came to murder them, equalled all that history offers us the most heroic. The factions of 1793 were repulsed after repeated attacks. The revolution of Thermidor ended in the month of Praireal. Doubtless, it can only be from inadvertence that in a history full of talent upon the revolution those sanguinary wretches of Praireal are repeatedly called patriots! patriots! And what then was Ferraud, Boissy d'Anglas, and their colleagues? This title thus transposed is a stain upon that fine history. Without doubt, the death of the Deputy Romme and his companions was heroic; their profound conviction and their stoicism may leave an incertitude upon the justice of their condemnation. For my part, I cannot persuade myself to believe them guilty; what connection could there be between such men and brigands? In our prison of Aix, they gave also the name of patriots to the insurgents of Praireal. The first news announced their triumph. Detained, with or without reason, as terrorists, we hoped for our delivery from the victory of the insurgents; but the song of the awaking of the people, which resounded with redoubled energy around us, very soon proclaimed the vanity of those hopes very excusable in our position. We had several alert murderers around us, from whom we were fortunately quit, with only their ferocious music. More fortunately still, an order from Paris, obtained by Napoleon, restored me to liberty. It is but just to declare that Barras did not evince any animosity towards those who had repulsed the mission of his terrible agents at St. Maximin; not that he had forgotten my action, but from an easiness of disposition, which was his greatest merit, he loved to oblige. He contented himself with saying upon that occasion, that I had been very bold, and had a lucky escape; and it was *he* who gave my brother the order for my liberty.

I had been six weeks in prison, and left there many citizens equally as innocent as myself. But such is the justice of parties—they are all alike; and we might say to them as to the adulteress, "*Let those who are without reproach cast the first stone.*" After my deliverance, I retired to Marseilles. The predominant opinion of that great town was changed. The defeat of the Jacobins had been celebrated with fanati-

cism. They railed as much against the victorious convention as against the vanquished Jacobins. The catastrophe of Quibéron (subject of ineffaceable shame to the English government of that period, if it be true that it abandoned its victims, and for the French government, which had the atrocious courage to immolate them, with or without capitulation) raised the public indignation. The royalists were equally skilful in appropriating to themselves the fruits of the heroism and the errors of the conventional party. The counter revolutionary spirit was not calmed. I had no longer any employment; and I thought of retiring into the country, when fresh political struggles decided otherwise.

The victory of Praireal had completely dispelled the demagogical intoxication. The ideas of justice, of concord, of the division of power, of equilibrium, had replaced the fever of the conventional dictatorship. The enlightened patriots could make themselves heard, and the constitution of the year 3 enabled us to make a giant step towards true republican ideas. Two legislative chambers and an executive directory of five members, offered a pledge of stability. In the month of August, that new constitution, enlightened by the error of the constituent assembly, ordered that two thirds of the two new chambers should be taken into its bosom.

That law of the 13th Fructidor exasperated all those who were tired of the yoke of the convention. It cannot be denied, that to restrain thus to their own profit the exercise of the right of election, was making an attempt upon the sovereignty of the pope. To be free from all reproach, the law should have been submitted to the same voting as the constitution. It was what the convention did, and then its enemies had only to obtain the majority of the suffrages; for it is the universal voting which consecrates, and which can *alone* consecrate a new power. If they recognise the sovereignty of the people, that fundamental maxim must unavoidably be acknowledged. The royalists, although opposed to that doctrine, neglected nothing to cause the decree of Fructidor to be rejected. They succeeded at Paris, but they failed in other places. Nearly the whole of the primary assemblies accepted the constitution and the decree. The sections of Paris, misled by the royalists, dared to call to arms, notwithstanding the universal vote. The convention menaced—named Barras as chief of its defenders. Barras confided the command to General Bonaparte, who was still without employment. And the 15th Vendémiaire (October, 1795) could not, unfortunately, assure the triumph of the patriot party, but at the price of the blood of too many Frenchmen.

The constitution of the year 3 was brought into activity, as well as the law of Fructidor. The General Bonaparte was promoted to the command of Paris—named Commissary of War. I departed for the capital to rejoin my brother. It

will naturally be imagined how much I reflected at that moment upon what he had said to me at Antibes, scarcely two years before—" *Have patience; in a little time I shall command Paris!*"

CHAPTER IV.

THE DIRECTORY. UNTIL THE EXPEDITION TO EGYPT.

"In organizing the Powers, the force and the success of the Constitution depends upon the equilibrium."—RAYNAL.

The Directorial Constitution compared with the Constitution of 1791—Address of Raynal to the Assembly—Mirabeau, Raynal, and Napoleon—Corsica re-enters the French Family—Binasco and Pavie—Monsieur Thiers and Walter Scott—The inviolability of a Legislative Assembly—Joseph Bonaparte at Rome and at the Council of Five Hundred—Opinion of Napoleon upon the Executive power of five or three Magistrates—Expedition to Egypt—My Election to the Legislative Body.

I ARRIVED in the great capital a few days after the opening of the legislative councils, which I entered three years after. I found my brother in high favour with the directory. It was through his influence that I was appointed commissary of war to the army of Moreau, which I joined after having remained a month at Paris. During this month's stay I beheld everything on the bright side. French society, restored to the ideas of true liberty and public order, appeared to me the more admirable when I compared them to the convulsions of Jacobinism, and to the reaction of the Royalism of the South, of which I had nearly become the victim. I assisted frequently at the sittings of the councils, which made me take a disgust to the functions that I had hitherto been happy to obtain. I would willingly have renounced them all, not to have been distant from the public tribunes; but I was obliged to depart for Munich, Brussels, and Holland, where I went in turn during the course of the year 1796, to execute an employment, ill or well, in which I occupied myself with much less ardour than in reading the political journals and pamphlets. I became a very decided partisan of the two chambers of the directorial government. Until that period, my sentiments had not kept pace with the prevailing opinion; but I then found it accorded with my own. Here, at last, I said to myself, is a republic! The division of power

is the guarantee of our liberty. At the general quarters of the armies, I was very fond of making speeches, and frequently got into quarrels with the Jacobins or Royalists. But soon the glory of Napoleon, who had just terminated in a few days his first campaign of Italy, that wonderful glory, covered me with its brilliancy. My chiefs paid me a great deal of attention, and they excused both my indolence in my administration, and my eternal discussions. I obtained the friendship of the general-in-chief, Tilly, who commanded at Brussels, and that of the excellent General Eblé, commandant of the artillery at Malines, with whom I remained over a year. This last, above all, was an honest and sincere republican, and agreed perfectly with me in my sentiments; we were strictly united in friendship. We thought the republic was established by the new constitution. The hatred with which it inspired the two extreme factions was its highest commendation.

These impressions of my youth may have left me some prejudices. I owe to them, perhaps, an erroneous opinion upon the directorial regime; but I still wish to think that the regime was not so bad, and that if the different factions would have yielded to it, the great republic was founded upon a solid basis. As I have nothing to say of myself that merits public attention, having been, until 1798, out of all political employment, I may be permitted to speak of my opinions. Those opinions of 1796 and 1797, have been confirmed by succeeding events; and notwithstanding all the ill that has been said of the directorial constitution, I think now, as I did then, that a good Frenchman, a reasonable man, might be a sincere partisan of a republic founded upon so good a legislative basis. If, notwithstanding these bases, the constitution could not resist the internal convulsions and military reverses, it is only to the relative weakness of an executive power too moveable, to which it must be attributed; and also with a small portion of good fortune in 1798, and less violence among the parties, the directorial regime might have completed the revolution, and perfected it by gradual and pacific ameliorations. This assertion will, without doubt, appear difficult to reconcile with the 18th Brumaire. Yet, notwithstanding, the 18th Brumaire, properly considered, fully confirms it. It is what I hope to develop in the course of these memoirs.

The directorial republican constitution offered more guarantees for public order than the monarchy of 1791. Let us compare the basis of the two codes: as for the code of 1793, which separates them, it was but a senseless democracy, inapplicable to a great nation.

In 1791, the sovereign or legislative power was concentrated in a single body, which was to be entirely renewed every two years.

In 1795, the sovereign power was divided into two bodies, of which the fifth part was to be renewed every year. Now the concentration of the sovereign power in one individual, or in a body, what is it then but despotism ?

The frequent and complete renewal of the individual or of the body, in which the sovereign power is deposited, what else is it but anarchy ?

The constitution of '91 was a confused medley of the principles of despotism and anarchy. It had only displaced despotism or legislative unity. It exchanged an hereditary master for a triennial master. The new master was more absolute than the old, for there was no longer either parliament, or noblesse, or clergy, or provincial states to oppose it. On the other side, the triennial renewal of this absolute sovereign incessantly brought the whole in question. Every two years we might pass from a republic to a monarchy, and from a monarchy to a republic ; there only needed for this a sudden transport of enthusiasm, or a decree wrested by fear. What a state of society ! The assembly called the constituent had not then constituted anything. It had worthily proclaimed the principles of liberty, of civil equality, and universal toleration. Noble and holy inheritance that we owe to it ! but it had erred completely in the application. It was an assembly of philosophers, rather than an assembly of legislators ; and was it to be wondered at ? How, at the first step, could it attain its ends in that arduous career, when the history of the world only signalizes five or six names for the admiration of posterity ? For the task which that assembly had given itself (forgetting the limits of its mandates) was absolute : entirely to renew a social order ! Solon and Lycurgus were very far from having so great a task to fulfil ; and they had passed a long life in meditating upon what we were expected to perform at once. The constituent assembly had for antecedents only the theories of Rousseau, of Montesquieu, and other great writers, and the example of England and that more recent one of America. But its work answered only those antecedents in its immortal preface, the declaration of rights ; as for the book itself, its deplorable influence was and must remain in an inverse sense from the intention of its authors.

The executive power, formed by the constituent assembly, had the wisdom to retain, even after the flight of Louis XVI. to Varennes, the unity of that power, and its succession ; but it had overturned, in its impetuous course, all the defenders of royalty. It placed then a throne, without a basis and without support, before a sovereign all powerful, and changing continually. It left to that shadow of a king, neither the proposition of the laws, nor the right of dissolving them. A suspensive veto for two years served only to expose it to the vengeance of an absolute master. The con-

stituent assembly, having concentrated the supreme power in a single popular body, had founded the democracy, and it would have been therefore more wise and less cruel (intentions apart) to have sent Louis XVI. out of France. . . . With the constitution of 1791, there was no longer any possibility of royalty. The President of the United States had more power than they had left to the King of the French.

And in 1795, the executive directory had more power than Louis XVI. In the first place, there was no longer only one sovereign. The legislative power, divided between the two councils, left to the directory a relative force, superior to that of the king of 1791. One of these two councils being accessible only to men of forty years of age, offered a still stronger guarantee of order and stability. The reading of each proposition, three different times, with an interval of three days between each, prevented the council of five hundred from coming to a hasty decision without time for reflection. The two councils, therefore, being renewed by fifths every year, rendered the change almost imperceptible and without danger. All the advantages, therefore, were on the side of the directory.

It will be observed, without doubt, that an executive power of five chiefs did not offer to a great nation so strong a guarantee as the unity of the hereditary executive power of 1791. It is true that the directory had neither unity nor right of inheritance ; but its renewal was as prudently combined as that of the councils. Chosen by the council of ancients upon a tensfold list, formed by the council of five hundred, the directors were named for five years. One among them only went out every year. This method left to the executive power almost as much force as if it had not been temporary. And besides, is it nothing to be freed for ever from minorities, regencies, and disputes of succession ? But this order of ideas did not appertain to the epoch of the directory. I am advancing too far upon the subject, and I hasten to retrace my steps.

The monarchy of 1791 had still against it the power of the clubs, whose existence it had consecrated ; at the same time they were prohibited in the directorial charter. That single difference was decisive. The work of 1791 might have become less imperfect if the great orator had not closed his eyes at the moment when the court had learned to appreciate him ; a sentiment common to all parties made them look upon the death of Mirabeau as a national calamity. But this powerful, intrepid, and true statesman, who did not bend before the opinion of the day when he thought it pernicious—could he, in spite of that opinion, have established two chambers ? That is not probable. Besides the death of Mirabeau, which preceded, by four months, the publication of the

charter of 1791, left a void which the well disposed endeavoured in vain to fill up. A project of revisal, concerted among the friends of the constitutional monarchy, was frustrated by some unfavourable circumstances; but if it had succeeded, that revision would have remained powerless before a single, absolute, and triennial chamber. To subdue and bring back opinions towards the system of the two chambers, against which public opinion had pronounced its anathema, required the greatest civil courage, united with magical influence. I was necessary to brave the name of aristocrat; and let us not fear to say it: if we go to a battle as we would go to a fete, civil courage is in general less common among us. We would sooner brave death than the hisses of an assembly, or of the multitude. We sacrifice too much to the pleasure of being applauded; and when we are contradicted in our opinion, instead of appreciating the courage of our opponents, we excommunicate them without toleration. Thus twenty days after the death of Mirabeau, we beheld one of those great geniuses, the honour of the 18th century, the famour Abbé Raynal, treated with the most profound disdain, when he went himself to read at the bar of the assembly a prophetic address, in which were the following passages:—

“Called to regenerate France, you ought to consider what you could usefully preserve of the ancient order; and, above all, that which you could not abandon. France being a monarchy. . . . Purify the principles by seating the throne upon its true basis, the sovereignty of the nation: fix the limits by placing them in the national representation, was what you had to do. And you think you have done it! But in organizing the powers, the force, and the success of the constitution, depended upon the equilibrium; and you had to defend yourselves against the bent of prevailing ideas. You ought to have seen that the power of kings was declining in opinion, and that the rights of the people were increasing. Thus in weakening without measure that which tends to decay naturally, in fortifying without proportion that which tends naturally to increase, you arrive forcibly at the sad result—*of a king without authority—a people without restraint!*”

And that illustrious old man, who, upon the brink of the grave, performed so admirable an act of patriotism, was scoffed at: they were provoked at his boldness. If Jean Jaques, Voltaire, and Montesquieu, had accompanied him, they would not have met with better success. What would have been the science of those men, compared with the science of the day? That intolerance of opinion has too often overwhelmed in our assemblies the voice of our best citizens; and perhaps our giant of the tribune, our Mirabeau himself, died in time for his glory.

The names of Raynal and Mirabeau bring me back to Na-

poleon. Napoleon, in one of those congés which he went to pass at Ajaccio, (it was, I believe, in 1790,) had composed a history of the revolutions of Corsica, of which I wrote two copies, and of which I much regret the loss. One of these manuscripts was addressed by him to the Abbé Raynal, whom my brother had known on his passage to Marseilles. Raynal found that work so extremely remarkable, that he decided upon communicating it to Mirabeau, who, on returning the manuscript, wrote to Raynal that that little history appeared to him to announce a genius of the first order. The reply of Raynal accorded with the opinion of the great orator; and Napoleon was enchanted. I have made a great many researches in vain to find these manuscripts; they were perhaps destroyed in the burning of our house by the troops of Paoli.

These literary communications had strengthened the admiration of Napoleon for those two great men of genius. The death of Mirabeau afflicted him very sensibly. The address of Raynal to the constituent assembly was not without influence upon us; and if Paoli had confined himself to declaring for the party in France, favourable to the ideas of political equilibrium, we should have seconded him with all our efforts.

The course of events had decided it otherwise, and we could but felicitate ourselves. Napoleon had arrived at the theatre of that great war for which he felt himself born; and from his field of victory, it sufficed for him to send some officers and arms to tear Corsica from the English and from Paoli, who disputed it with them. Already the young renown of Napoleon had effaced the former renown of the ancient chief. Among the officers sent into Corsica, was the brave Costa of Bastelica, the defender of our family in the days of adversity.

I had just arrived at Genoa in time to see the departure of our islanders, and to embrace Costa, for whom I had always, from my childhood, a particular friendship. Had it not been for the impatience which I felt, to behold, in the midst of his triumphs, my brother, already master of Lombardy, I should have set out for Ajaccio. In the course of a few days we learned that the whole island had revolted, and that Paoli, in despair, had taken refuge in London, where he received, till his last hour, that respect which was his due. They even wished to perpetuate that respect by erecting to his memory a tomb in Westminster Abbey. It is also in an English tomb that Napoleon reposes!!! But what a tomb! —what a vengeance! Oh! eternal shame to freemen, who become the instruments of despotic kings! I fear not, noble British nation, although amid ye, to let this fraternal cry escape me. I have travelled in your provinces and in your palaces: in your houses and in your cottages. I have often

been affected with the sight of the image of Napoleon ; and I have exclaimed, a hundred times, on beholding it, " Here is what attests the sentiment of reparation in a nation that knows how to appreciate a hero. Those who confined and suffered the noble victim to die upon the rock of St. Helena, did they show themselves worthy of the great people whom they governed ? "

I had obtained permission to quit the North to go to Milan, where our army had made its entry. Napoleon was no longer at Milan. The revolt of Pavia had just broken out, and it was said that the general was gone to the banks of the Adige to chastise the guilty city. I hastened to Pavia. Upon the road my eyes were struck with the distant reflection of a vast fire. It was the village of Rinasco, delivered up to the flames, to expiate the assassination of several of our straggling soldiers. I traversed the burning ruins. Pavia presented me, in a few moments after, with a spectacle even more deplorable. That great city had been delivered up to pillage in the morning ; the traces of blood had not been washed away. The bodies of the peasants, who had refused to surrender, were not carried away. People were occupied with those funeral rites within the gate by which I entered. The streets and places were transformed into a perfect fair, where the conquerors were selling to hideous speculators the spoils of the vanquished ! What miseries even in the most just of wars—in the most necessary of victories !

I could only remain with my brother half a day. He was to return in the evening upon his favourite line of the Adige. He gave me his instructions, and I departed for Corsica. After some days of a stormy voyage, I found myself in my beloved native town, where I thought only of obtaining the suffrages of my fellow-citizens for the epoch when I should become eligible.

The last six months of the year, and the following, ('96 and '97,) were filled with the exploits of Napoleon and the army of Italy. From Montenotte to Campo Formio, it was a continuation of prodigies. " When we consider it altogether, the imagination is struck with the multitude of the battles, the fecundity of the conceptions, and the immensity of the results. Entering into Italy with thirty and a few thousand men, Bonaparte separated, in the first place, the Piedmontese from the Austrians at Montenotte, and at Mil-lésimo succeeds in destroying the first at Mondovi ; then hastens after the second—passes the Po before them at Plaisance, the Adda at Lodi, takes possession of Lombardy—stops for a moment—soon resumes his march—finds the Austrians reinforced upon the Mincio, and completes their destruction at the battle of Borghetto. There he seized, as with a coup d'œil, the plan of his future operations ; it is

composed (in 1795, as it was in 1791) of proprietors only, whose income equalled a hundred days of work. The inferior properties of those who had not any property, although they composed the majority of the nation, were not represented at all. Even the exercise of communal suffrage appertained only to those who paid a contribution equal to three days' work, (in 1791,) and a contribution of some sort in 1795. The convention had much enlarged the basis of the right of citizens fixed by the constituent assembly; but that basis was not the universal suffrage in the community. Thus, there were still in France two distinct populations, one composed of inhabitants without any political rights, subject, nevertheless, to all the duties; and the other composed of privileged citizens, having solely the right of nominating the electors. It was reserved for the constitution of Brumaire to consecrate universal suffrage, and to modify it by the triennial lists of notables. I mean here to speak only of the republican constitution of Brumaire. I consider that alone in my reflections, and I set aside the *senatus consultes soi disant organic* which succeeded it. Everything which regards the constitutive laws of the empire is foreign to my examination, because it was but a glorious dictatorship, for ever immortalized by the heroism of our armies, and by the universal concord. . . . But it was not, nor could it be the definitive code of a free nation. I take then only for the scope of my investigations, in these memoirs, the charters of the constituent assembly of the directory, the consulate, and 1830.

The charter of the directory having given us only privileged electors, the councils could only represent the proprietors who had named them. It is less surprising then, that after that the mass of the nation should find itself in opposition to this imperfect representation, the audacity of which increased every day. It drove the government to the last extremity. It had already taken from it, with the direction of the treasury, every pecuniary resource; and there remained only to organize the national guard of Paris, as planned by Pichegru, to assure the fall of the directory.

Ought the armies of the republic thus to have suffered the counter revolution to reap the fruits of a hundred victories?

We had now arrived at a political crisis which left us only the choice between illegality and the counter revolution. The illegality of the 18th Fructidor saved the country. Hoche had caused several bodies of troops to approach Paris. Napoleon had thought it sufficient to send Angeveau with the menacing addresses of the army of Italy. The national representation was violated by a coup d'état, and nearly the whole of the nation applauded the proscription of two hundred of its deputies. The majority of the directory, Hoche and Bonaparte united to the legislative

minority, accomplished a melancholy duty, but the absolute duty of a citizen, in not respecting the inviolability of the majority of the councils, because the inviolability of a chief or of an assembly does not require them to betray with impunity the object of their political mandate. Instituted to maintain a republic, the councils in seeking to destroy it ceased to be inviolable. Insurrection, or a coup d'etat, is a natural right in such a crisis. It is the double right of public welfare and individual defence. Pichegru, recognised as a traitor to his country, and conspiring with foreigners, had seduced or corrupted the majority of a legislative chamber: that chamber attacked the republic which it was charged to defend. And from that time the coup d'etat and insurrection were right, just, legitimate, necessary. Sad necessity, without doubt the most melancholy of all political necessities, but a necessity justified by right and duty. . . . It is giving a senseless extension to the inviolability of an assembly *not constituent*, but *constituted*, that we may condemn the 18th Fructidor. They approve (even of principle) when it is considered that inviolability has for its limits the order imposed upon all legislative assemblies. Thus the nation and the army celebrated the 18th Fructidor as a day of triumph. The hopes of Austria were baffled; and the peace, which was suspended by the plots of the royalists, was signed at Campo Formio. Unfortunately, the coup d'etat of Fructidor was not submitted, as it ought to have been, to the vote of the nation. Still more unfortunately, the severity which recalled the days of terror dishonoured Fructidor. And an atrocious banishment condemned the vanquished to live and die in the deserts of Sinamari!

Napoleon, conqueror and pacifier, arrived in Paris at the end of that year. The directory gave him, at the Luxembourg, a triumphant reception, of which all our historians have repeated the details. The public mind was so much exalted, that the government could not avoid feeling some inquietude and ill-concealed mistrust. What Frenchman remain calm in reading, upon a great banner which was presented in that solemnity to the army of Italy, that inscription without a rival in history, either ancient or modern?

"The army of Italy has made a hundred and fifty thousand prisoners—has taken a hundred and seventy colours, five hundred and fifty pieces of siege artillery, six hundred field pieces, five bridge equipages, nine vessels, twelve frigates, twelve sloops, eighteen galleys—armistice with the Kings of Sardinia, of Naples, the pope, the Dukes of Parma and Modena—preliminaries of Leoben—convention of Montebello with the republic of Genoa—treaties of peace of Tolentino, and Campo Formio—liberty given to the people of Bologna, of Ferrara, of Modena, of Massa—Carrara, of Romagna, of Lombardy, of Bresica, of Bergamo, of Mantua, of

upon the Adige that he must establish himself to face the Austrians. As for the princes that were in his rear, he contents himself by holding them in check with negotiations and menaces. A second army is sent against him under Wurmser. He could only defeat it by rapidly concentrating his own forces, and striking alternately each of those isolated masses. As a resolute man, he sacrifices the blockade of Mantua, overwhelms Wurmser at Lonato, at Castiglione, and drives him again into the Tyrol. Wurmser is reinforced at Beaulieu. Bonaparte was beforehand with him in the Tyrol, remounts the Adige, overturns all before him at Rovérédo, throws himself across the valley of the Brenta, cuts off Wurmser, who thought of cutting him off, overthrows him at Bassano, and shuts him up in Mantua. This is the second Austrian army destroyed after being reinforced.

"Bonaparte, always negotiating, menacing from the banks of the Adige, awaits the third army. It is formidable. It arrives before he has received a reinforcement. He is obliged to give way before it: he is reduced to despair. He is about to fall before it when he finds, in the middle of an impracticable marsh, two dikes that opened on the flanks of the enemy. He throws himself into them with an incredible audacity. He conquers again at Arcola. But the enemy, though stopped, is not destroyed. He returns a last time, and more powerful than the first. On one side he descends the mountains; on the other, he coasts along the side of the lower Adige. Bonaparte there discovers the only point where the Austrian columns, scattered over a mountainous country, might reunite. He springs upon the celebrated platform of Rivoli; and from that platform falls like a thunderbolt upon the principal army of Alvinzy: thence resuming his flight towards the lower Adige, entirely surrounds the column that had crossed it. This is his last operation and the finest, for here good fortune united with genius. Thus, in ten months, besides the Piedmontese army, three formidable armies, three times reinforced, had been destroyed by an army which was little more than thirty thousand strong at the beginning of the campaign, had scarcely received twenty to repair its losses. Thus, fifty-five thousand Frenchmen had beaten more than two hundred thousand Austrians, had taken above eighty thousand, slain or wounded more than twenty thousand—had engaged in twelve pitched battles, and more than sixty others, passing several rivers, in braving the floods and the fire of the enemy. When war is a purely mechanical routine, consisting only in driving or killing the enemy that is before us, it is little worthy of history. But when one of those encounters presents itself, where we behold a mass of men, actuated by one sole and vast thought, which develops itself in the midst of bursting thunder, with as much clearness as a Newton or a Descartes

in the silence of the closet, then the spectacle is worthy of the philosopher, as well as the statesman and the soldier. If this identification of the multitude, with one single individual, which produces strength in its highest degree, helps to protect and defend a noble cause, that of liberty—then the scene becomes equally moral and grand."

I could not resist the desire I felt to transcribe this page of M. Thiers, (in his History of the Revolution,) a most admirable strain of truth and eloquence. What can be better said? I trust that the reader will pardon me this long quotation, worthy of the minister who will, without doubt, contribute to the return of his ashes from St. Helena. . . . Sir Walter! Sir Walter! this is the way to write history! When we do not know how to free ourselves from the miserable spirit of localities and parties, we should not pretend to judge of real heroes.

The armies of the North, commanded by Hoche, Moreau, and Jourdan, rivalled in patriotism and ardour the army of Napoleon. So great a success, which guarantied the external peace, could not remain without influence in the interior. Could they suffer to be prepared, with sang froid, the fall of the republic? Was it for our enemies that the armies had triumphed? It was in vain that the directory had at first repressed, with a firm hand, the Jacobin conspiracy of Babeuf, and the royalist conspiracy of Brothier. The embarrassment of the finances, still overburdened by assignats and territorial mandates of no value, incessantly presented fresh obstacles. The Jacobins did not dare to complain after our victories; and, above all, after the establishment of the republics in Italy. The national glory which, even in the auspicious days of their blood-stained errors, never ceased to cause those ardent hearts to palpitate, had momentarily suspended their opposition. But these victories, these new republics only exasperated the foreign factions; which ably profited by the embarrassment of the finances, and to so great a degree that the directory, although victorious externally, was upon the brink of its fall. The terrible lesson of Vendémiaire appeared to be forgotten by the royalists of Paris; and Austria, well informed of their plots, had found sufficient courage to retard the signature of peace.

How had the royalists arrived at such a result? They had become the masters of the elections; and it was at the head of the legislative councils themselves that they were marching to the counter revolution. They hoped to do it legally. Pichegru, who had for a long time been a traitor to the republic, was in correspondence with the Prince de Condé and the Austrians. At the renewal of the second Tiers Etat he had been named to the council of five hundred. Elevated to the presidency of that council, he was certain of the support of the majority, because the electoral body was

Cremona; of a part of the Veronese, of Chiavenna, of Bor-mio and the Valtelline; to the people of Genoa, to the imperial fiefs, to the people of the departments of Corcyra, to the *Aegean* sea and Ithaca. Sent to Paris the chief d'œuvres of Michael Angelo—of Guerchino, of Titian, or Paul Veronese, of Correggio, of Albano, of the Carraccis, of Raphael, of Leonardo da Vinci, &c. Triumphed in eighteen pitched battles—Montenotte, Millésimo, Mondovi, Lodi, Borghetto, Donato, Castiglione, Roveredo, Bassano, St. Georges, Fontanassova, Caldiero, Arcola, Rivoli, La Favorite, Le Tagliamento, Tarvis, and Neumarkt—engaged in sixty-seven battles."

The peace of Campo Formio had thus acknowledged in Italy the Cisalpine republic, of which the finest province of the Holy See formed a part. The republican spirit in Romania, and the papal legations, soon communicated itself to the rest of the Roman states. Joseph Bonaparte, ambassador at Rome, employed his influence to maintain the public peace, and followed with address and firmness, the pacific instructions of the directory. But nothing could stop the republicans of Rome, and the insurrection broke out without combination or support. The insurgents, repulsed by the troops of the Holy See, and by a furious multitude, took refuge in the palace of the ambassadors, where they pursued them, without respect for the diplomatic jurisdiction. My brother sprang forward to endeavour to put a stop to the confusion. . . . And the brave General Duphot, who was at his side, was struck with a mortal blow. The ambassador quitted Rome, and hastened to Paris. We had at the same time nominated him in Corsica, member of the council of five hundred. The General Berthier received orders to invade Rome, which was constituted a republic, and, like Milan, Amsterdam, and Switzerland, wished to imitate the directorial constitution. That political imitation was the natural result of events. Napoleon had been desirous of introducing some changes in the Italian constitutions. He had proposed to give more strength to the Cisalpine government, by reducing the five to three directors; but that proposition had displeased the French government, who insisted upon the general's abandoning his project of concentration. The general obeyed with regret. He had also in vain demanded that Sièyes might be sent to him, that he might aid him in his constitutional improvements. He thought that these essays of legislation, applied to the republics of Italy, might hereafter be applied to France, when experience had proved their advantages; and as soon as he could manifest his opinion without failing in his duty, he did it openly. Genoa had not been conquered like the Cisalpine: mistress to give herself the laws that she preferred, the councils which she asked of Napoleon, were a pledge of confidence which

left him entirely at liberty. Also, without the intervention of the directory, and notwithstanding the contrary order executed at Milan, Napoleon decided at Genoa, the establishment of three magistrates instead of five. There arose against him very unjust complaints. The general had given his advice and obeyed a contrary order. An individual, consulted by a free people, might, and ought to have given that council which appeared to him to be the best. Napoleon, after the 18th Brumaire, in speaking to me of the three consuls and their relative powers, recalled to his memory the laws he had given at Genoa.

"The directory," said he, "instead of complaining of my conduct, ought to have profited by it: my opinion and my example proved my sincere desire to serve them. It was in vain that I showed them the route that they should have followed. By concentrating, they might have maintained themselves. At that period three magistrates, equal in power, were probably capable of governing well; but now, after all our reverses, that concentration is no longer sufficient. Of the three consuls to be established, one alone ought to have the power, or we shall have nothing permanent."

In recalling this anecdote of Brumaire, I do not in the least mean to prejudice a question that we are to discuss hereafter. I cited it here only to show that Napoleon before his departure desired the consolidation of the directory, and that it did not depend upon him that the government did not fortify itself after the example of the Italian republics.

Upon his return to Paris, Napoleon, brought into contact with the executive power of five persons, tossed amid the factions, and swung from one side to the other, became disgusted. I never knew of the project, which several writers have attributed to my brother, of entering the directory on having a dispensation of improper age granted to him; it might have been mentioned to him, but he never attached any importance to it. Far from wishing to become a part of the directory, he thought it his duty to withdraw from it. The East, that country of great renown, charmed his imagination; he projected, obtained, and prepared the expedition to Egypt. He wished me to accompany him; but the elections of the year 6 approached, and I preferred being a candidate for the deputation. The expedition to Egypt sailed from Toulon. That mysterious expedition revealed itself by the taking of Malta, while I traversed France in order to take my seat at the council of five hundred, to which I had been unanimously named. I was struck, during my journey, at the diversity of opinions among public men, upon the departure of Napoleon. Some, already seduced by the news from Malta, were in ecstasies at his departure, and presaged such successes, that should even efface the prodigies of Italy. Others accused the directory of perfidy. "The lawyers said

they wanted to get rid of a hero, who had suffered himself to be duped by them." But the greatest number appeared to me to disapprove of the absence of the general, and of so fine an army. I strongly partook of that last opinion, which the change in our military affairs soon rendered universal. But it was to the government, far more than to the general, that those reproaches ought to have been addressed. I will not deny that an immense ambition of glory, the most noble of all egotism, had not greatly influenced the determination of Napoleon. A victorious career, upon the traces of Alexander and Cæsar, must have inspired his soul; that brilliant personal future might even have dazzled him, and overcome the present interest of his country—but he did not leave France without renowned generals; and he took with him only thirty thousand men. It would have been, on his part, too great an excess of vanity, to have supposed that his presence was indispensable for the public security. The political horizon presented at that moment but very feeble presages of a new tempest. England alone was in arms against us; and Egypt was the point where England was the most vulnerable—Egypt, the advanced post of war and commerce towards India—post of watchfulness towards the Bosphorus. A conqueror was very justifiable in shutting his eyes upon every other consideration to spring towards that Egypt, the possession of which assured to France—promised the abasement, more distant but certain, of London and St. Petersburg. And what weight should we not, in fact, place in the political balance, if Egypt could have remained ours, if one of our old marshals was now in the place of the great viceroy; if the valiant Clauzel, instead of triumphing over the Arabs of Atlas, was encamped with his army upon the banks of the Nile, already become one of our rivers? . . . For so great a result, all our sacrifices, and perhaps even the disasters of Aboukir, would not have been too dearly bought.

But that dazzling perspective, so natural, so noble, so heroic for Napoleon, to whom repose was a burden, completely changed its aspect, when taken in a point of view with respect to the government. The duty of the directory was to devote itself to the certain, and coolly calculated, present interest of the republic. It was a part of its responsibility to moderate the ardour of our heroes, and to direct instead of following them with the enthusiasm of the battle field, or with the weakness of an uneasy and subdued magistracy. For the chiefs of a republic, weakness or enthusiasm are equally criminal—the slumber or intoxication of a pilot places the ship equally in danger. The directory had studied that great question under every aspect. Several of its members had at first opposed it; they had felt that after the peace of Campo Formio, the events at Rome and in Switzerland had offered pretexts sufficiently plausible for the ill

humour of Austria. They thought and said with reason, that the projected expedition would draw upon us a war with Turkey, and that in giving us a new enemy, we should awaken the ancient : that it secured the English ascendency at Constantinople. And thus, in raising these perils, it threw far distant from the land of France, the first of our generals, and thirty thousand chosen men, and delivered over our marine to perilous chances. All these considerations were developed and patriotically sustained by the director La Reveillere. . . . And as they did not produce any effect, the government was left without excuse. But the assertions of M. de Montgaillard, and of those who have followed him, are contrary to truth, when they attribute the project of the expedition to Egypt, to the desire of removing, at any price, the victorious general. Far different is the jealousy and quietude which one, subordinate to them yet so powerful, could excite from the criminal resolution of depriving the country of thirty thousand warriors to rid themselves of a rival. On the contrary, they only yielded to Napoleon. The fault of the government was weakness ; and that fault was sufficiently weighty for the chiefs of a republic, without attributing to them an imaginary plot. Since the coup d'etat of 18th Fructidor, the directory had gained strength at the expense of the legislative body ; but soon that strength began to decay. The expedition to Egypt appeared to have marked the end of its bright days. Scarcely arrived in the chamber of representatives, I assisted only at the fall of the directory. Here begins my legislative functions, and I must pass lightly over acts in which I concurred. I fear that my opinions, my votes, and my discourses, may not always be worthy to fix the attention of my readers—but I must give them, such as they were. I cannot pass them over in silence, since I write the memoirs of my public life.

CHAPTER V.

THE DIRECTORY TILL THE REVOLUTION OF BRUMAIRE.

"Cet esprit d'imprudence et d'erreur,
De la chute des Rois funeste avant-coureur."—RACINE.

The Powers—The Allied Republics—The Armies—The Interior.

UPON my entry into the council I was welcomed with a favour entirely due to the enthusiasm which they felt for Napoleon. Joseph, our eldest brother, admitted since the preceding election, possessed the esteem and friendship of his colleagues. They endeavoured to raise some doubts upon my election; but the assembly, supreme judge without appeal, pronounced it to be valid.

I passed the first months without taking a decided part in the council. Animated by a sincere republicanism, I thought to keep my individual independence among the different parties, not daring to approach that formidable tribune, however much I might have desired it. I listened attentively, and I prided myself upon voting for them by turns, one after the other, with the directorials, or with the opposition, according as they appeared to me to be right. There were no longer any royalists in the chambers on the 18th Fructidor; they had been so completely overwhelmed, that, during eighteen months, they had not regained courage. The directorial party appeared to me at that time to be the most reasonable. Why not aid the government at the moment, above all, when the nullity of the congress of Rastadt made them fear the renewal of hostilities?

The establishment of our armies by the departure of Napoleon, was another motive for us not to weaken ourselves still more by discord. The majority of the legislators saw how much union was necessary, and, though they condemned the conduct of the executive power, they lent it their assistance. The opposition was composed of the Jacobin party, and of the personal enemies of the directors. These last called themselves the only constitutionalists, with as little reason as the Jacobins called themselves the only patriots. Before we enter further upon this subject, we will declare that this name of Jacobins, which was given to the most violent portion of the opposition, no longer sig-

nified, as it had done formerly, men of disorder and blood. The illustrious General Jourdan was among the number, and all idea of crime must be effaced when we speak of the Jacobins of that epoch. They abhorred the scaffolds of 1793 as much as we did; but they were always faithful to the conventional doctrines. They reproached the government for not having sufficiently profited by the victory of Fructidor: they saw no remedy for all the evils but in the omnipotence of their party, and in the usual measures of the propagande, the conscription, forced loans, political clubs, and terror. The soi-disant constitutionalists found, on the contrary, the directorial system sufficient, and condemned only the directors, of whom they thought they had reason to complain, either right or wrong. A change of persons appeared to them a remedy for their present situation; and among them was pronounced, with regret, the name of Sièyes, whose embassy to Berlin was considered as an honourable exile. That illustrious name, as M. Thiers very justly observes, was at that time the second in the republic.

That historian is less true, when, in speaking of me, he says, "Lucien had ranged himself in the constitutional opposition, not that he had any subject of personal discontent, but he imitated his brother, and assumed the part of censor of the government. It was the attitude best suited for a family desirous of forming a party of their own."

That conjecture is an error. Not only I had no reason to complain of the directory, but the connexions of my brothers with Barras, to whom I owed my deliverance from the prisons of Aix, had drawn me to the Luxembourg, where I was very well received. I had every reason to praise Barras, Rewbell, La Revéillère, Merlin, and Freilhard. I did not, therefore, seek to set myself up as censor. I did not enter into any systematic opposition. My first votes were most frequently favourable to the government; and no personal consideration influenced my conduct.

But, in a few months after my admission to the council, it was no longer possible to support the directory; not only fortune was adverse to it, but its inconsistency, its weakness, its incapacity, no longer admitted of excuse. The indulgence with which M. Thiers judges the directors, may be applied to their intentions, but not in any way to their conduct. After having deprived themselves of their greatest strength, they provoked, by their mad audacity, the war which at least they ought to have retarded until our preparations were completed. They had united Geneva and Mulhausen to France. They had a second time revolutionized Holland. They troubled Switzerland, for fear, without doubt, of keeping a single ally for France. In one word, that unfortunate government appeared struck with a vertigo. To complete their imprudence, they endeavoured to disor-

ganize the Cisalpine republic, the principal work of Napoleon in Italy. It was then only that my brother Joseph and myself declared for the opposition, being persuaded that the executive power, composed as it was at that time, left no hope to the republic.

It was in the beginning of Fructidor, three months after my entering into the legislative body, that I for the first time attacked the government upon the subject of the Cisalpine republic. During those first three months, I had only appeared at the tribune to combat the forced observance of the Decadis;(4) to disapprove of the re-enactment of the tax upon salt;(5) and to make two reports: the first relative to the pensions due to the widows and children of the defenders of the country.(6) And the second upon the dilapidations.(7) In this last report only can be found the tone of an opposition, which was beginning to become violent. Without stopping at these objects of little importance, it will be sufficient to insert in the Notes the discourses which refer to them. But I do not think that in future I ought to content myself with so rapid an analysis as that which I have hitherto employed. It may have sufficed for that which I did not see myself; but with respect to the affairs in which I have taken a part, I shall prefer giving a monthly summary of my proceedings, to which I will add my observations. I was elected secretary of the *council*.

Month of Fructidor, year 6. From the 18th of August to the 17th of September, 1798.

Complaints of Switzerland and Italy—My motion of order for the Cisalpine Republic—Reflections upon that motion—A Constitution once violated no longer exists in principle—Political oaths—False application of the word Aristocrat—The powers.

THE treaty of Campo Formio had stipulated that there should not be any changes made in Italy but with general consent. Had we faithfully kept to that condition? . . . Since that treaty we had entered Turin, of which we occupied the fortress. The king, our ally, had retired to Sardinia; he had only the shadow of authority left to him upon the continent. Our republican principles had raised the whole of Piedmont; if we had not excited them, we had at least profited by them, without the concurrence of Austria. That power had, therefore, a just cause of complaint. At all times the invasion of a kingdom is a legitimate motive for the renewal of a war. If history is not impartial, it is no longer any thing but a source of error. We certainly were not to oppose a neighbouring people imitating our ex-

ample, but the introduction of our troops into their fortress-
es was committing a decided act of hostility against Aus-
tria ; and it was with an ill grace that we afterward com-
plained of the obstacles thrown in the way of the negotia-
tions of Rastadt. Neither did the taking possession of Mul-
hausen afford any proofs in favour of our moderation. The
directory had recently united them to France !—As for the
Roman government, it could not justify its culpable indol-
ence in the fanatical insurrection which cost the life of the
brave General Duphot, and in which the life of the intrepid
ambassador (Joseph Bonaparte) had been menaced, and his
residence basely violated ; we were justly entitled to a sig-
nal vengeance. . . . But was there absolutely no other
reparation possible than the overthrow of the temporal au-
thority of the pope ? That temporal authority is useful,
necessary, indispensable, for the independent exercise of
the spiritual authority of the see of Rome over all the Cath-
olics in the universe. The immense majority of the French
people professing the Roman Catholic religion, could not
fail lamenting, from the bottom of their hearts, the desola-
tion of the Holy See. Still greater reason had Austria to
resent, as a Catholic and neighbouring power, the new in-
fraction of the treaty of Campo Formio. The kingdom of
Naples had never dissembled its hatred against France ; but
the establishment of the Roman republic furnished it with a
plausible pretext. Thus Naples and Austria were provoked
by the changes that had been made in Italy.

Russia, discontented, threatened ; Paul I. had taken the
order of Malta under his protection ; and we did nothing to
retard or ward off the attacks of this new enemy. The di-
rectory kept the citizen Talleyrand at Paris, instead of
sending him to Constantinople, according to the promise
made to my brother. If the mission of that skilful diplomati-
st had only succeeded in retarding for some weeks the
hostilities of the Porte, the result would have been im-
portant ; but directly upon the departure of the fleet, the di-
rectory had forgotten its promise.

England was fully sensible of all the evils that the
French expedition might cause. The newspapers were
filled with alarming conjectures. Was it towards Egypt, or
towards India, that our army was directed ? In all cases it
threatened the British interest with the greatest dangers.
About the same time, fifteen hundred of our brave fellows,
under General Humbert, had landed in Ireland, where the
discontented population hastened to join our standard.
What motives for our great enemies to redouble their ef-
forts, and to endeavour to renew a coalition with the kings
of the continent ! To attack us was to defend itself. Noth-
ing, therefore, was neglected. Every day they approached
towards their object at St. Petersburgh and Vienna.

Berlin alone still resisted. The illustrious Sièyes had accepted that embassy, where his influence fortunately balanced the solicitations of the Count de Cobentsell and the Prince Repnin. Sièyes absents himself willingly from Paris; he had never approved of the constitution of the year 3, which appeared to him to be insufficient. His foresight had preceded, by two years, the opinion of everybody. He had refused to enter the directory; and almost universal regrets had followed him to Berlin, the only capital in which, since his presence there, our directory had triumphed.

Such was the state of the powers. If the strange politics of our government did nothing to quiet our enemies, it had in requital turned with impetuosity against our own allies. A rage for directorial propagandism had taken possession of our chiefs. They wanted to reduce every thing to their own resemblance: their commissaries, their acts of authority, their ambassadors, carried trouble into the neighbouring republics, which, scarcely born, were certainly not in want of those interior convulsions.

THE ALLIED REPUBLICS.

THE nearest to us, the Helvetic republic, was so much exasperated, that her minister plenipotentiary, Zeltner, addressed to the directory the following note, a piece remarkable for its bitter censure, very slightly covered with some diplomatic compliments. That note, an act of real accusation against the French directory, after having enumerated the injuries of Switzerland, ended thus:—

"The consequences are much to be dreaded of a conduct so revolting towards a people who never suffer themselves to be diverted by pleasures, nor intimidated by force, and who are only to be gained by kindness. It is very impolitic, instead of endeavouring to become better acquainted with the character of the people, the maintaining towards them the same conduct as if they possessed the happy lightness with which the French adopt novelties, or the apathy of the Batavians, or the docile pliability of the Italians. These irritable and courageous people are zealously attached to their religion, their pure democracy, and ancient morals. Whatever bears the stamp of infidelity or oppression, fills them with bitterness and indignation. When there is no longer any thing to be lost, when animated by despair, they become capable of every excess, and Helvetia may become the theatre of scenes more horrible than those of La Vendée.

"The undersigned shudders while holding this language, but it is that which it is his duty to hold. Not to make known to the French directory the whole undisguised truth,

would be a crime. Already have the Grisons retreated from us at the news of the deplorable state in which Switzerland finds itself. They prefer the yoke, which once inspired them only with horror. The fetters of the Tyrol are forged anew. Suabia, ready to embrace a system of liberty, repels it far from her. Those who, not long since, had sworn to propagate, now swear to oppose it with all their strength; and the neighbours of Helvetia reject with affright fruits which to them appear to be poisoned.

"The real republicans of Helvetia will be the first victims of so great a disorder. The towns, the only supporters, the only asylums of the new order of things, will be delivered over to the fury of the country-people, who accuse them of being the cause of their misfortunes in giving the first impulse to the revolution. It is upon them that will fall the first excesses of their blind rage. All Europe will resound with their fatal prognostics.

"The English think they have escaped from the anger of the great nation, because she permits useful neighbours to destroy one another, and precious advantages to pass into the hands of her enemies. For the localities, history, every thing proves the importance of such a neighbourhood; every thing excites the enemies of the French nation to attach themselves to a brave and estimable people, who now inspire, and must for ever inspire, a universal interest.

"Citizen directors, you who decide with as much felicity as glory the fate of nations, calm, while there is yet time—calm the intestine tumult of the Swiss people. You have the power. The memory of the past, actual sufferings, all concur to agitate them. Let then your wisdom obviate the extreme misfortunes which may become inevitable. Fulfil the wishes of the Helvetian people, in the name of humanity, of liberty, and equality, presented to you by their organ, the undersigned. Thenceforth the remembrance of your bounties will constantly be as dear to them, as they will glory in forming a strict indissoluble alliance with the first people upon the earth.

"To that effect the minister plenipotentiary of the Helvetian republic demands:—

"1st. That funds of all descriptions which have been sequestered, or that have been carried away from the Helvetian nation, shall be remitted to the new government, in order that it may be in a state to meet the expenses of the revolution; of organizing an armed force, that will render the Helvetian republic worthy of an alliance with the French republic, to pay for objects of pecuniary necessity which France can furnish to Switzerland, such as grain, salt, &c.

"2d. That divers parts of Helvetia, charged with contributions, shall be exempted.

"3d. That the artillery, the arms, the magazines, and in general all the effects taken from the Helvetian nation, shall be returned into the hands of the constitutional government.

"4th. That the number of French troops in Switzerland, the cavalry above all, shall be reduced to what is absolutely necessary, and that those troops shall go away entirely as soon as possible.

"5th. That the constitutional government of the Helvetian republic shall be favoured by every possible means in the exercise of her authority, and for that end it must be ordained :—

"That the agents of the French republic in Helvetia shall come to an understanding with the directory of that power, upon all the objects which it concerns, acting only in its name with its consent, and in observing all the respect which is due to it.

"That the French troops which remain in Helvetia shall be only auxiliary troops ; that, far from being any impediment in the acts of the government, they shall assist it and lend it their support, in case of necessity, every time they shall be required to do so.

"That the advantages accorded to the canton of Berne, relative to the maintenance of the troops, shall be extended throughout Helvetia.

(Signed,)

"ZELTNER."

This bold claim of the Helvetian minister was not without some success. Mutual concessions were made about the end of the month. A treaty of alliance and a treaty of commerce were signed ; but the substantial complaints were not silenced. The French agents continued to tyrannise over and to despoil Switzerland, who, on her side, supported with impatience the yoke of her pretended liberators.

Holland was not recovered from her interior revolution, that the General Dandaels had effected in the preceding month of June, thanks to the aid of the French General Joubert. The Batavian directory had been attacked and dissolved by the French influence. The directors, and a part of its deputies, had been rendered destitute. That Batavian revolution had this peculiarity, that the ambassador and the general of our troops acted in opposition to each other. Our allies were not edified by such a disunion, which might have prolonged the struggle ; but the party of Dandaels and Joubert having obtained the ascendancy, the ambassador, Charles Lacroix, returned to Paris, where his complaints were unavailing ; they served only to lessen the consideration of the French directory in the eyes of the opposition. Holland, after that epoch, beheld the parties

more exulting than ever : some bore upon their cockades, as a rallying sign, the inscription, "22d Jan., 1798;" and others, the words "*Disarmed of the 23d of June.*" The disorders in Holland could not reasonably be wholly attributed to the French government, but it had contributed to them by its violence and unskilfulness ; and, thanks to that state of discord, the Batavian republic was a greater expense than benefit to us.

Genoa had also had her directorial crisis there, as in Holland. It was the power of France which decided the victory between the two parties ; but on this occasion our minister and our general entirely agreed in opinion. The citizen Belleville sent for to his house, without further formalities, a part of the Genoese legislative body, and made them sign, in his office, the dismission of all the Genoese representatives of the people, who from that day became the enemies of France.

The republic of the capital existed but in name. The entire authority was exercised by a French commission. The consuls of the Roman people had scarcely any other functions than to superintend the packing up for France, the chefs d'œuvre of the arts and sciences, to press the payment of the enormous tributes imposed upon the patrician families to the amount of nine or ten millions, and to repeat, with the ridiculous style of sovereignty, the French edicts, which drove from the capital of Catholicism and the arts the foreigners who had taken refuge as in a port open to all in adversity. Rome, deprived of her pontiff, without foreign admirers, was by her own consuls aiding to despoil herself of her treasures of every sort. Was it possible that Rome could entertain any sincere wishes for France ?

The most powerful of the allied republics, the Cisalpine republic, will that at least be spared by the directorial propagande ?—Will that escape our commissioners, prodigal of their despotic counsels, constitutional levellers, *popilius-professors*, who trace with the point of their sword the legislative lessons, by enclosing the people in a fatal circle ? Far from forgetting Lombardy, it was there that the wisdom of the directors, finding all of a sudden that what they had done with Napoleon was detestable, endeavoured to defeat it. It seemed as if they felt happy in being able at last to command in that Lombardy which had remained closed against their caprices, so long as the reins were held by a firm and skilful hand. They usurped the constituent power, and confided the exercise of it to their ambassador, Trouvé. Trouvé went to *correct Napoleon* !

Scarcely had the diplomatic reformer given notice of his constituent mission, ere a profound agitation manifested itself. Numerous pamphlets revealed the public opinion. "It is a triumvirate," said they in those pamphlets, "a tri-

umvirate, citizen ambassador, that you are preparing for us. After having reduced the members of the Cisalpine directory to three, you will, upon the pretext of economy, suppress the half of our legislative body!—Ah, let us double the expense if it is necessary; but let us preserve that liberty which was given to us by a hero. You want to enfeeble our legislative body, to subject it to your triumvirate!—No, never; our constitution is our wealth: we will defend it. When we want to reform it, it will be for the Cisalpine people to do it, and not a foreign ambassador. We shall know, citizens, soldiers, legislators, and magistrates, we shall all know how to defend our independence."

The Milanese government, no longer able to doubt the projects of the minister Trouvé, sent directly the General Lahoz to Paris as ambassador extraordinary. That general demanded to be presented to the directory. He wrote as follows to the minister of foreign affairs: "My mission is urgent; the question is to baffle an odious conspiracy against the Cisalpine constitution, and to know the opinion of the French government upon a handful of factious men who assemble at the ambassador Trouvé's, and who take upon themselves the right of making innovations among us which we do not desire."

The General Lahoz requested the intervention of the two brothers of the founder of the Milanese republic. We undertook willingly, but in vain, to interest ourselves in his favour. We saw all the directors: we spoke of the painful impression that a change in the Italian constitution would cause to Napoleon. One of the directors (Barras) silenced us upon that point by replying, "As for your brother, if we had followed his advice, the dispositions that we are about to take would have made a part of the first organization. Have you forgotten that the general insisted for a long time that there should be only three directors at Milan; and that he only established five in consequence of our positive orders, and much against his will?—Well! we will return to his first advice. No one has less to complain of than he has." That recrimination was not very easy to repel, if they neglected to take advantage that the actual moment was unfavourable for those reforms rejected by the Italians, and the inconvenience of the despotic mode employed to effect those reforms. Their value in themselves was conformable with what Napoleon had done at Genoa, and what he wanted to do at Milan. The reply of Barras was therefore conclusive with regard to Napoleon, and only offended me still more. I replied therefore with warmth:—"If you think they can overturn the directory at Milan, why may they not overturn the directory at Paris?" And after that menace, I left the Luxembourg. It was the last time I saw Barras. The complaints of our allies had resounded in the

councils ; those of Italy, above all, had raised sympathies which menaced the directory. Far from seeking to appease them, they endeavoured to brave them. They had refused to hear the demands of the General Lahoz. Not only they would not grant him an audience, but they sent him an order to quit Paris. The general, informed that I intended occupying the council with his mission and his dismission, suspended his departure for twenty-four hours. As soon as the sitting was over, I demanded a hearing for a motion of order, and pronounced the following discourse :—

“ Representatives of the people, depositaries of the constitution of the year 3—It is to you that I address myself. Fame has published that innovations are intended in the constitution of a republic and ally who rejects them in vain. From the shores of the Eridan to the banks of the Seine, the friends of liberty are in alarm. A longer silence on our part would redouble their inquietudes, and dishonour us. I am come then to call your attention to those innovations, prepared by men who cannot have for that purpose either mission or legal character. I am come to point them out to you. If these are precocious truths, dangerous to publish, there are also bold truths that we cannot permit ourselves to conceal, without forfeiting our duty as public men.

“ It is sufficient, sometimes, to disclose a project to disconcert its authors. This, I trust, will be the case with men who have taken upon themselves the task of reforming the laws of the Cisalpine people. Those laws are ours. The constitution of Milan is the French constitution of the year 3 . . . It is the deposite that the French people have confided to you, to the directory, to the administrators, to the magistrates, to the army, and to the courage of every Frenchman. Here reposes our social guarantee. If we swerve from that path, I no longer behold a firm ground on which we can fix the basis of our republican institutions. I see only a land of fire and despotism, or the quicksands of civil war.

“ How rash are those who, in their scientific pride, without paying attention to the lessons of experience, dare call making perfect the violent triumph of their system over our constitutional system ! Is the moment then arrived when France and the republics, the offspring of her victories, must leave the tutelary asylum they had entered, after so many blood-stained storms ? . . . How then ? We have had scarcely time to breathe—our laws are yet in their infancy ! A neighbouring state has just adopted them ! And already we dream of changes for our allies who refuse them ! Treaties have been signed with the Cisalpine : they have been guaranteed by you, and they have the boldness to violate them before your eyes, without your concurrence ! To-day an ambassador salutes the independence of a republic, and he dares to-morrow to conspire against it ! . . . And French bay-

onets are raised to support those plots! Notwithstanding the numerous communications that have reached us, I would not give credit to projects so devoid of sense; but the cries of the Cisalpine people have been heard—the spectres of aristocracy and discord are awakened before us, and already they raise their heads, eager for vengeance, upon the cradle of the Italian republics, daughters of our victories!

“Perhaps it is only an illusion—at the same time, if the government dissipates our alarms, we shall have to congratulate ourselves upon having expressed them. If a culpable project exists, we must attack it, we must repress it with a firm hand. Let us not forget that an attempt made against the Cisalpine republic might become an essay upon ours. But before such an attempt shall be made upon our social compact, they must resolve to pass over the bodies of more than one representative of the people. This compact does not arrogate to any authority the exclusive right of modifying it. The reform of its errors is subject to constitutional rules. The council of ancients can, at Milan as well as at Paris, demand a revision; but it must never be the result of foreign manœuvres.

“A French minister resides at Milan with the executive power of that republic which Austria has so reluctantly recognised. What right has that minister of peace to attempt reforming a power to which he is accredited? If diplomatic agents permit themselves to overturn republics of which the treaties of peace have consecrated the independence, if those treaties, guaranteed by the French people, and paid for with the purest of its blood, are not respected by the directory, where then will be the limits of the directorial authority? That authority cannot become tyrannic with our allies, but in becoming despotic at home. Let then a thousand times resound beneath these roofs, the words of the address that you have received: ‘*If five or six persons are sufficient at Milan to overthrow a constitution, it will only require at Paris a rather larger number of audacious innovators.*’ Let us at the same time see in what those so much vaunted innovations consist, which they want to impose by force upon Italy.

“They talk very much of economy! . . . They are going, without doubt, to put a stop to the dilapidations. The contracts will in future be made public. A system of finance, discussed and completed by the deputies of the Cisalpine people, is about to be established. Before this system of order, the fiscal ordinances of our generals and commissaries, which are the source of so many complaints and struggles, will fail. . . . No, representatives of the people, there is no question of these sort of measures. The economies that have been contemplated are confined to the suppression of two out of the five directors, and a portion of the legislative body. . . . Certainly, to find so powerful a resource, there

was no necessity to resort to the profound combinations of a commission of finances.

"In support of that diminution of the expenses, they adjourn the legislative body for eight months in the year. They give to the executive power the initiative of the laws, and that is what they call perfectionating, citizens. It was by such perfectionations that in days of yore the triumvirs arose. At Rome they wanted to concentrate the power. . . And the proscribers soon divided the spoils and the blood of the Romans. . . And the great republic, to escape from the triumvirs, was reduced to resign itself to the yoke of Cesar. . . . History reproduces incessantly events under different forms.

"Cromwell, like the triumvirs, wanted also to concentrate, to simplify, and to perfect the parliamentary government; and as there is nothing more simple, less eccentric, and less complicated, than the absolute power of a single man, Cromwell secured the whole power to himself. But Cromwell was English; he did not impose his yoke in the name of a foreign power. Before he employed force against the parliament, he waited patiently till that assembly had lost its popularity by its errors. He introduced his agents into it—excited them to act in direct opposition to public opinion, and reduced it to so great a degree of ignominy, that, when it endeavoured to assume a parliamentary attitude, the time was past. Cromwell entered the House of Commons. He commanded his soldiers to overturn the manikin of national representation. His soldiers obeyed. . . . And English liberty expired, because its parliament knew not how to preserve public opinion; and that daring man knew how to appropriate to himself that forsaken inheritance. And we are silent to-day!—We permit our armies to be employed in oppressing the people who are our allies. Have we then too many friends in Europe?

"But have you all reflected upon the danger of calling the arms and the attention of the army upon these pretended perfectionings imposed upon the people against their will? Have you already forgotten, that when the republic is menaced, the French army knows how to deliberate? No; the representative system does not want defenders. If unfortunate and difficult circumstances have changed the inviolability of the system, that change was necessary for the preservation of the republic: it must not discourage us. It proves that, to save the country, there is no sacrifice impossible for the representatives of the people, even that of their lives. It proves that, if civil war is a dreadful misfortune, the counter-revolution is the worst of all evils. Proclaim then that the constitution of the year 3 has never ceased to be the supreme will of the people; that its revision cannot

be obtained at Milan as at Paris, but by constitutional means ; and that to affect even to prepare for it by other means is an outrage, and that you are determined to stop in its impure course the torrent of innovations with which we are threatened. The Cisalpine alone can modify their constitution in their primary assemblies. No power upon earth can usurp the right of national sovereignty.

"I demand, citizen representatives, that a message shall be addressed to the directory, to obtain from them, with the shortest possible delay, informations upon the reports which are spread of a movement in the Cisalpine, and of an innovation of which the French ambassador is accused. These informations will calm our fears, or at least they will provoke an explanation that is become indispensable for our honour, our independence, and our security."

This harangue, delivered with some degree of impetuosity, was received with excessive applause ; the impression of six copies was demanded, and every thing announced a success likely to have gone far in influencing the directory. The principal orators devoted to the government, astonished at first at so unexpected an attack, recovered from their surprise, but, not daring to face the discussion, they preferred letting the effect which I had produced operate. They resorted to an adroit tactic, and demanded the general committee, to which they had a right when any diplomatic question was agitated. As I had not come to an understanding with any party, I was not supported with sufficient firmness, and a general committee was granted.

While they evacuated the tribunes, the ministerialists ascertained that there was no party linked either with the Jacobins or with the constitutionalists, and they regained courage. Their disciplined phalanxes made a terrible outcry against my proposition : and I was left alone in the breach, to punish me, without doubt, for not having combined my attack with my colleagues ; and, notwithstanding my resistance, I was repulsed by the order of the day. The General Lahoz, who was waiting outside the chamber of the assembly, departed immediately, furious at the indifference of the council to the complaints of the Cisalpine government.

May I now be permitted to judge myself, my discourse, and my conduct ? The confession of a public man of past times, may sometimes serve for us to understand better the public men of the present day.

The constitution of the year 3 ! Did I idolize it to such a point that I looked upon it as our palladium ? No, certainly not. After the conventional tempests, in which, like many others, I had placed great faith, I liked all in that charter which appeared to offer a guarantee against the return of the reign of terror. I compared it then, with ad-

vantage, to the charter of 1791—but experience had cooled my ardour. When I arrived at the legislative body, I soon thought like the rest of the members of the council of ancients, and the half of those of five hundred. We saw that the charter had been violated in Fructidor by the proscription of two directors and a part of the legislative body; it had also been violated in Floreal by decimating the national representation. We cannot conceal that a charter violated is a charter destroyed. We felt that the state of affairs, produced by those two violations, was but a lawless act, because it had never been rendered legitimate by the voting of the people. That voting not having taken place either after Fructidor or after Floreal, there no longer existed any legal form. We therefore no longer understood by the constitution any thing but the principles of the sovereignty of the people, of its representation, divided into two chambers of a collective and temporary government. We were sincere in those principles, but we had no longer any faith in the remainder, because we no longer believe in that which has ceased to exist. A defeated organization will not revive. The principle alone, the soul, can survive the collective or individual body when struck by dissolution. If that dissolution happens from consumption or by violence, the principle will reanimate another body, more or less resembling the body that is no more; but it cannot give life to that which has become the prey of time, to that greedy, inflexible, insatiable power, that never lets go its hold of that which it has seized.

Experience had confirmed the foresight of Sièyes, who, in the year 3, had given a proof of his conviction in refusing to enter the directory. After our reverses, the parties no longer mutually imposed upon one another in speaking of the constitution of the year 3. The Jacobins understood by that the republic, and an executive power subject to the omnipotence of a national assembly, alone capable, in their opinion, of impeding the counter-revolution. The constitutionalists, on the contrary, preserved their political faith in the principles of a division into two chambers, and a government strong and free within its legal limits. Again, these two principles, to which the sense of the word constitution of the year 3 was reduced, did not shine in our eyes with a pure and clear light. For my part, the division into two chambers appeared to me then, as it does now, our ark of salvation. But do those chambers effectively represent the sovereign? With the electoral cause, and the eligible cause, does there exist only one species of men in France? Was there a sincere representation when the greatest part of the French people had not even the right of voting in their communes? It was natural then to desire a more perfect representation. As for the executive power, provided it was elect-

ive and temporary, I was not particularly desirous for the number of five directors. The preference which Napoleon had given at Genoa to three magistrates instead of five, combated in my mind against the old idea of the triumvirs. My opinion in that respect, therefore, floated undecided.

In that situation of mind, why was I so much disgusted with the innovations which the French government imposed? The division into two chambers was preserved. The directory remained elective and temporary. They adopted the number of three, which the founder of the Cisalpine had at first repulsed. There was nothing in that to create alarm, either for Milan or for Paris. What sentiment then prompted me to enter into the most implacable opposition? My vanity had been flattered by the mission of General Lahoz to me, in the name of the Cisalpine people. My vanity had been wounded at the little value the directors had set upon my intervention. This sentiment of self-love, doubly excited in a contrary direction, had more influence over my conduct than if I had acted from conviction. The political oath! In urging the council of five hundred to renew the oath of fidelity to the constitution of the year 3, was I sincere? Most undoubtedly. But that constitution consisted at that time only of two chambers, and in an elective directory. I combated the reduction of the directors, *because the government supported it*. The spirit of opposition alone decided my incertitude. In proposing the oath, I raised a barrier against the government. This oath expressed only the determination to combat the reduction of five to three, and it was a serious fault on my part applying that formula to defeat an object that was unworthy of it. It was profaning that which was sacred. All the parties, every individual in France, committed, and still commit, the same fault; but it should be imputed only to the legislation: for the oath should only be applied to the principle, and not to a form, any more than to a man. And as regards political conscience, there are but two principles—the divine right (which in its last analysis is perhaps reduced to theocracy), and the popular right, which depends upon the suffrages of men. These two principles, which are divided in the world, are alone worthy of an oath; and it is to one or the other of these three principles, that all political oaths do and must in reality have reference. It is absurd, in fact, to invoke Heaven to maintain a form of administration or government; for a principle admits of a thousand forms. It is absurd to make oath to a man, for that man, however absolute he may be, president, consul, king, or emperor, commands under certain conditions, the violation of which justly causes his downfall. When a government fails in the performance of its own obligations, the governed no longer owe it any duty. The oath of fidelity made to a man is

then only nonsense, since the oath to the charter might exact the violation of the oath to the prince. There is then a manifest contradiction between the oath to the social compact and the oath to the magistrate, that your first oath might force you to abjure. The moral inviolability of a magistrate can never be absolute, which history has proved; and it cannot alter the evidence of the real contradiction between the two oaths, except in the question of the Arroganese oath. "*If not so,*" it is not more reasonable to swear fidelity to an assembly, which is only a collective magistrate; that assembly, if it was even invested with the constituent power, has for its limits the mandate of its constituents. Thus the oath which was nominally taken to that assembly, was only taken in effect to the elective principle, and to the sovereignty of the people.

It is quite natural that forms should change; they depend upon a thousand circumstances. Principles alone should remain unalterable; and they alone merit the oath of fidelity. The powers which the sovereign can change have only the right of a promise of obedience, which ceases to exist as soon as the magisterial power is revoked. Thus the only persons who have forfeited their political faith, are those who have changed their principles. It is the faithful, brought up in the adoration of kings almost as much as in the fear of God, and who, from fickleness, from discontent, or from ambition, pass over to the popular camp; or popular men who pass over from the camp to the divine right. I do not mean to say that one may not change a principle with good faith; but to be free from reproach, they should consent to make a solemn abjuration, the same as when they change a religion. I only mean, that notwithstanding the thousand oaths that have been taken to so many different charters within these fifty years, we must infinitely reduce the number of the guilty. The past generation was as good as the present. The fault of this sacrilegious play with oaths does not belong to individuals, but to the legislative nonsense of lavishing oaths on forms of government, instead of restricting them to two principles. That error is not yet destroyed; and, as long as it exists, there will be nearly as many nominal perjuries as there are public men who survive the several social organizations. Let us hope that a good law may put an end to this scandal.

I return to the subject of the oath which I urged against the innovations of the Cisalpine. It was only justifiable under the consideration of the violation of the sovereignty of the Italian people. Beyond that, as the orators of the directory observed, the diplomatic question was alone to be considered; and even in admitting that the intervention of the French government was violent, the question should have been argued privately, and in a secret committee.

The noise made upon the subject only increased the evil, by encouraging the party, unfortunately too numerous, that had arisen in Italy against our ambassador. In fact, although the directory were in the wrong for having so awkwardly chosen the time for its innovations, it was wrong of me to have accused them violently, and the council acted wisely in passing to the order of the day.

The spectres of discord and aristocracy figured in my discourse. In speaking of discord, I expressed a very clear idea; and, unfortunately, I spoke only a melancholy truth. But what did I then mean by aristocracy? It was not the aristocracy of the peerage, for the directory did not think of again raising at Milan that privileged caste. The question was only a reduction among the functionaries. It was to that reduction then that I gave the terrible epithet of an aristocratical measure. The measure was notwithstanding ill chosen; it tended only to strengthen the cradle of the Italian republic, and not to deliver it up into the hands of the enemies of the aristocracy. My figure of rhetoric was then but an imaginary spectre, notwithstanding it had more effect than solid reasoning. Strange power of certain words in revolutions! Magic power, sometimes beneficial, too often fatal! No word had a greater influence among us than that of aristocrat. The anathema against aristocracy, born in 1789, has not yet grown old in 1836!—It is always the same word; but to what different ideas, and often the most opposite, have they not been applied? In 1789, it indicated the defenders of the abuses of the ancient régime, the blind partisans of the reunion of all the powers in a single hand; and since that they have transferred it in turn to the wisest defenders of the liberty of the new régime, and to the enlightened partisans of the division and equilibrium of powers. The ministers of Louis XVI., Necker, Malesherbes, and Roland, Baily and Lafayette, the Feuillants, the Girondins, the Moderates, in one word, all those who were overthrown, received in turn that cruel epithet, the preface to the scaffold. We had passed those deplorable crises; but the word, though it had ceased to be mortal, had not ceased to be equally odious. It would have been very unwise not to let fly that arrow at one's adversaries. I did like the rest; all who were meant to be held up to public hatred were branded with that appellation. We bore some resemblance to the good people of Lower Brittany, who were so much occupied with the idea of the gabelle, that they beheld it everywhere, even in the clock which Madame de Sévigné received from Paris! We must, however (except we prefer an absolute to a modified monarchy), end by reconciling ourselves with the gabelle!

III. THE ARMIES.

OUR armies were not contented with the improvidence of the government. They wanted generals like Brune, Macdonald, Championnet, and Joubert, to repair the faults of the ministers. They would have attained, if they had arrogated to themselves, as Napoleon had always done, the supreme direction of the military administration. They attempted it, and Championnet caused even some civil commissaries to be arrested that opposed him; but that which had succeeded with Napoleon, did not succeed with others. They were obliged to yield to the agents of the ministers. They sent them from Paris even the orders for the placing of their divisions. They were obliged to divide when they wished to concentrate them. The ministry, equally imperious and incapable as the Aulic council of Vienna, knew not how to do right, and prevented the chiefs of the army from doing what they ought to have done. It was thus they prepared for a new campaign!

In the meantime fifteen hundred Frenchmen, conducted by General Humbert, had landed in Ireland. England, in alarm, despatched twenty thousand men against that handful of brave soldiers. The disaffected Irish joined our standard very slowly. The news of the descent upon Ireland was hailed by all the parties with enthusiasm.

This triumph, which was destined to be short, was completed at the end of the month, by the official announcement of the landing of Napoleon in Egypt. The taking of Alexandria had raised the public confidence, and the council declared that the army of Egypt had merited the praises of the country. The glory of Napoleon reflected sufficiently upon his brothers, to make me easily forget my legislative defeat of the Cisalpine. That glory was like the shield of the mighty Ajax, beneath whose shelter the archers had rallied—that shield high as a tower!

IV. THE INTERIOR.

THE innovations of the Cisalpine had very much increased the agitation in the minds of the legislative body. I ranged myself after that discussion in the constitutional opposition, which had for its object a personal attack against the directors, at the same time that it defended the institution. We did not refuse our concurrence in the measures that were indispensable for the public service; but the most bitter censures paid the price of what we granted. We consented to the famous law of the conscription, of which the conqueror of Fleurus was the reporter; a holy law when applied to an offensive war, because, by increasing indefinitely

the number of the respective armies, it might have brought us to a state little better than that of barbarians. In those difficult circumstances, every thing that the directory demanded was granted them by the opposition, except the tax upon salt, which was rejected, notwithstanding the importunities of the reporters of the commission of finances. I took an active part in this rejection: a tax which affects those who possess nothing, has ever appeared odious to me, and contrary to the ends of all good government. Let us re-establish, as far as we can, an equilibrium in the difference of fortunes—diminish, as far as we can, the distance between the rich and the poor. It was in vain that they professed all those fine doctrines upon the superiority of indirect taxation. Those taxes which reach him who, having nothing, owes nothing to the state, are therefore unjust; and when they touch objects which are of primary necessity, as salt, they are infamous. We admired the economical dissertations, but we rejected the tax upon salt.

A law, which is under discussion even at this time, the law upon the periodical press, traced a more decided line of demarcation between the parties. Berlier was the reporter. I made a part of the commission with our president, Daunon, Cabanis, the friend of Mirabeau, Génissieux, and Andrieux. After the 18th Fructidor, a law had placed the newspapers for one year under the inspection of the police. The end of it was almost arrived. We proposed a penal law, founded upon the judgment of the jury, of the public offences of the press; and upon the promulgation of the law, the preventive action of the directorial police was to cease. Till then all the members of the commission were agreed; but ought there to have been a fixed period assigned for the promulgation of our law? The majority of the commission, formed by Daunon, Berlier, Génissieux, and myself, decided for the affirmative. We were impatient to deprive the police of its dictatorship. We inserted in the second article, that the dictatorship would cease at the end of three months, a time fixed in which the council engaged to terminate the penal law. The discussion was stormy. Our colleagues, Cabanis and Andrieux, declared they had not voted that second article, and demanded the suppression. The directorials wanted to postpone for one year the dictatorship of the police. They caused our article to be rejected, and triumphed again over the opposition. But our penal law assigned to the jury the judgment of all the public offences of the periodical press! Thirty-eight years have passed since that sitting. . . . What progress have we made in the constitutional guarantees? Has France marched forward since that time?

Month of Vendémiaire, year 7. From the 22d of September to the 22d of October, 1798.

Dangers of Systematical Opposition—“*Manet altamente repostum.*”

I. THE POWERS.

THE end of the year 6 of the republic had been marked by a most inauspicious event. The vague report which was spread of the disaster of our fleet in the Bay of Aboukir, was unfortunately confirmed in the first days of the year 7. I beg leave to observe that I do not class the events in the precise order of dates, but according as the news arrived to us in the capital. Nelson, received in triumph in the Bay of Naples, hastened the manifestation of the hostile sentiments of that court. During the time that the British hero arrived from the coast of Syria, the General Mack, too soon celebrated by fame, hastened from the banks of the Danube to take the command of the Neapolitan army, increased beyond all proportion by precipitate measures. The future exploits of Mack appeared to be indubitable at that court, misled by a hatred that could not be considered without motives, except in forgetting the scaffold of Marie Antoinette! Nothing was talked of but Mack upon the southern frontiers of the Roman States.

Austria and the empire retarded, for a length of time, the negotiations of Rastadt, and were far less seriously occupied with protocols than with armaments. Our plenipotentiaries had to combat a powerful adversary, the Comte de Metternich.

Paul executed his menaces; with one hand he drove his fleet into the Bosphorus, struck with amazement at the aspect of the vessels of the Czar and the Sultan sailing together. With the other hand he precipitated fifty thousand men, children of his melancholy deserts, into the fertile countries of Europe. That horde, commanded by the terrible Suwarrow, had already traversed the plains of Lithuania, and touched the gates of Cracow.

The Porte, abandoned by our government to the English diplomacy, saw only in our expedition the invasion of its provinces; she signed a triple alliance with London and Petersburgh. It cannot be dissimulated that the expedition to Egypt was the cause of that triple alliance, and that it was in favour also of the Russian influence at Constantinople, a result that sways even now the European politics; a result more prejudicial, more fatal, than the triumphs of Su-

warrow, equally owing to the absence of the generals and soldiers of our great fleet.

England, reassured upon Ireland, contemplated a second coalition against France.

The Piedmontese, tired of our pretended alliance, armed ten thousand men whom they promised as auxiliaries, but whose dispositions, like those of the population, announced the most bitter enemies. Our provident and skilful General Mesnard had a great deal of trouble to prevent a popular insurrection against our garrison at Turin; and some solitary murders had stained the streets of that capital.

At length the republic of the United States retired from us also, to approach the nearer to our enemies. By dint of unskilfulness and obstinacy, the agents of the directory had forced our natural allies to forget the memories of Louis XVI. and Lafayette. Washington had personally approved of the alliance with England, in accepting of the command of the armies of the Union.

II. THE ALLIED REPUBLICS.

THE French innovations were finished in Lombardy, without their being able to repress the discontentment that each town, each village, of that republic, expressed in the most vehement yet useless addresses. Violence answered their complaints. The General Lahoz was deprived of his place for having dared to fulfil the mission of his government. The disaffection of the people facilitated the success of the old and faithful portions of the *statuo quo ante bellum*.

The parody that they were playing at Rome had arrived at its last scene.

The military commanders gave and took away, at their pleasure, the consular toga, from men so unknown that they could not even become illustrious in mounting the capitol!

Holland, recovered from her last shock, began to assume a calmer attitude. Seconded by our troops, she repulsed the attack of the English upon Flushing.

Switzerland still resisted against our intervention, and appeared always more irritated against the state of guardianship forced upon them. These people, old republicans, found no compensation possible for independence; and the diplomatic sophisms had little influence upon their good sense. All the negotiations, therefore, were useless: they flew to arms, and there was no alternative except to change our politics or shed the blood of our allies. The directory did not hesitate in their choice—nothing is more flexible than weakness, when it thinks itself sustained by victorious bayonets. All reconciliation was neglected. Our brave soldiers were thrown by a senseless and cruel order against

a part of the good and simple Helvetians. Seas of republican blood were shed on both sides, as if we had any to spare when upon the eve of combating against kings. The District of Stanz became celebrated by a victory that was a fratricide.

III. THE ARMIES.

THE descent of General Humbert in Ireland was to have been seconded by an expedition that sailed from Brest. Our Aulic council had disposed the affair in so wise a manner that the fifteen hundred Frenchmen who had just landed in Ireland were not supported, and when the army of Cornwallis had surrounded the valiant avant garde, which was reduced to capitulate, the auxiliary squadron left Brest. The Irishman, Naper Tandy, endeavoured in vain to make good his landing. The arms which he brought with him for ten thousand men arrived too late. For several days past Humbert had been a prisoner. The insurgents of Ireland, pursued without ceasing, were beaten. The hope of that powerful succour vanished like a dream.

Our armies of Italy and the North, re-enforced by the first levy of the conscription, awaited with impatience the signal for new combats—accustomed to conquer, they thought themselves invincible! Napoleon continued his triumphs. We received despatches from Grand Cairo. The taking of that capital, its administrative organization, skilful and rapid, several victories, among which shone those of the pyramids, the beginning of the works of the institute in Egypt, all contributed to distract our attention from the results of the loss of our fleet, and upon the triple alliance, mistress of the Mediterranean.

IV. THE INTERIOR.

THE legislative body, excited by the danger which approached, appeared, at first, unanimous to second the government with all its power. They granted it some financial resources; they decreed a levy of two hundred thousand conscripts, first tribute of the grand law. The announcement of a crisis is always favourable in numerous assemblies when the minds of people are exalted. The renewal of the bureau had brought General Jourdan into the presidency; the majority of the secretaries also belonged to the Jacobin opposition. That opposition, after having accorded all the means of defence, returned to its natural malevolence, impatient at the slowness of the measures, and eager for new ones. Briot, one of the most eloquent orators, proposed the formation of a committee of seven members, charged to meditate the measures that might be proposed

to the legislative body the day upon which the directory announced the rupture of the negotiations of peace. That mission recalled too sensibly the former committees of the convention not to alarm us. It would, in fact, have displaced the centre of action, and annihilated the executive power. The orator had not even disguised his aim, for his harangue breathed only the most immoderate praises of the convention. We united with the directorials, and an almost general disapprobation repulsed the commission of seven. Another orator was not more fortunate in proposing the emission of six hundred millions of national bank-notes: they were afraid of that which resembled assignats, as they were of that which resembled the committees of powerful and terrible memory. We avoided every thing likely to alarm the directory and peaceful men. The exaggerated party were at that time in the minority. They announced to us in a few days that the most estimable man of the party, the conqueror of Fleurus, accepted the command of an army; in fact, he wrote to the council to take leave of him. This worthy citizen possessed the esteem of all his colleagues. I took upon myself to become the organ of the universal opinion;(8) and they ordered the impression of six copies of my discourse and the letter of the general. This departure weakened the Jacobin opposition. The parties of the council were nearly of an equal balance: they desired, but were fearful of taking, bold measures. They desired, but were afraid of giving, too much strength to the government; and the republic gained nothing with all our hesitations.

The directorials hoped to profit from these hesitations. They endeavoured to return to the tax upon salt; and they demanded also that those employed for the (Octroi) city toll should be chosen by the government. The commission of the finances protested that the tax upon salt, upon which the produce, if certain, would exceed thirty millions, was necessary:—the right was reduced to the half. It observed also, with reason, that, under the present circumstances, it was wiser to leave to the executive power the choice of above a thousand persons employed in Paris alone.

These importunities could not persuade the two oppositions, who, united upon the two questions, caused both of them to be rejected. They were not sparing in reproaches to the commission of finances, for having dared to renew for the tax upon salt a proposition that had already been rejected, and to have presented it before the delay exacted by law. They refused to the government the right of nomination to the employments of the (Octroi) city tolls which they had established, and they preferred to confide the choice to the departmental administration. I spoke and voted for that last measure, which was not very reasonable

in the position of affairs : the particular administrations of the capital had too often taken advantage of their influence ; but the mania of tormenting the government overbalanced the wise counsels of our adversaries.

That mania of daily opposition to a government, in the administrative measures that it claims for the public service, has often proved fatal. It appears a noble proof of independence ; but it is, perhaps, too often, though we do not own it to ourselves, only a spirit of egotism in a body or an individual. Ancient history has not transmitted to us an example of these struggles, these daily broils, upon the administrative details, between the supreme authorities of the state. To embarrass one's government at every step, is a sort of patriotism too much perfectionated in our times ; the obstacles that are raised against the administration (above all in grave cases) are far more prejudicial to the governed than to those who govern. They weaken those whom they ought to strengthen. It is like distracting the attention of a pilot while he is passing amid the rocks and quicksands : the vessel which he guides carries us with it as well as him. If he is skilful, let him alone, and aid him in his manœuvres, instead of thwarting him ; but if he is unskilful, and is likely to cause us to be shipwrecked—well, then, even in that case we must aid him, till the precise moment that our safety requires another guide, and then it will not suffice to make puerile attacks. The question is not one of gymnastics, nor of self-love, but it is one of life and death. The more the blow is prompt and decisive, the more the safety of all is assured. The crisis is the more salutary when it is rapid. The political body is like the human body ; a happy crisis or a revolution may save it ; but years of long agony, or egotist opposition, systematical and tormenting, weakens and consumes it. The crisis is sometimes the only means of salvation ; and, if obliged to resort to it, the greatest danger consists in retarding it. If the political chief is constantly struck with repeated blows,—if even the attacks are not very grave, they enervate and stupify him, and may in the end so derange his organization, that the vital strength of the heart may suffer from it. . . . The directorial epoch, of which I here retrace the remembrance, and the epoch of 1830, offer two striking examples of the different social maladies. The directory, exposed to incessant attacks, resisted as well as it could ; but, weakened and languishing, it vegetated more than it governed ; and the republic, fallen into a state of marasmus, was near the moment of expiring beneath the Tartar pikes of Suwarrow. In 1830, on the contrary, by a vigorous and rapid movement, they changed the chief who had broken the fundamental compact of his authority, and whom, to the eve of that change, they had not refused all

support and power. They changed; and that crisis, if it had received the sanction of a universal voting, would be the most irreproachable crisis of the revolution. Our long opposition of 1798 was, I believe, fatal to France, by weakening the chiefs in the moment of danger. We ought to have aided them, or have changed them sooner. The opposition of 1830 was wiser than we; it left to the government the means of strength and defence to the last hour; but the resolution to overturn it, if it persisted in error, augmented silently in every heart. The crisis once desired by the majority—the famous ordinances—was only the occasion, well chosen and quickly taken advantage of. Let us be better advised than to endeavour to weaken the government at an unseasonable time. Let us aid it as long as we keep it, that it may be strong, not for itself, but that its weakness may not touch the heart of the state. If it becomes guilty of an outrage against the sovereign, of which it is only the first magistrate, let opinion, inevitable and supreme strength of civilized societies, arise and increase, calm and terrible, in the bottom of all hearts, until the day marked by Providence; or, become general, and then irresistible, it shall reveal itself of a sudden in one of those bursts of thunder which clear the horizon. While we await that day—*manet altamente repostum.*

But opinion is often a long time before it becomes general. Without doubt, it is very fortunate for human society; for if the opinion of an entire people was as easy to be formed as that of an individual, we should have revolutions every week. If what every faction, every writer, calls intrepidly public opinion, was actually such, we should have a thousand public opinions for one. When the true public opinion is formed, nobody can be deceived; it has no occasion for commentaries—it shines like the sun. We must await it, for it is the sovereign; it is the only master upon earth to whom our political symbol has engaged us. To act against the supreme master is a crime: to take its name in vain is a sacrilege. Have we acted with the conviction that we have followed his intentions, although not yet expressed? Then our absolute duty, of which the success cannot enfranchise us, is to submit our actions to the universal vote, the only sincere expression of universal opinion. As long as that opinion does not agree with yours, resign yourselves that you are going on before and behind, to the right and to the left; if you are not with it, cease to take its name, and conclude with sincerity, that it is not you, but the government, which still represents the supreme opinion of the only master to whom you pay homage.

Happy is the government that reposes upon so solid a basis; it need no longer fear the factions of any sort or colour. This situation—is it that of the government of our country?

Month of Brumaire, year 7. From the 22d of October to the 22d of November, 1798.

Barbarous Law against the transported of Fructidor—and the fine words of the Orator Rochon—Endeavours of the Jacobin party against the Priests—Troubles in several Departments—Incertitude of the Legislative Body.

I. THE POWERS.

THE situation of the powers, with regard to us, presented no change in the month of Brumaire, except the entry of the Austrians in the country of the Grisons. The imperial minister had offered several times the intervention of his master to protect the government of Coire against the party who desired the reunion of the league of the Grisons with the Helvetic confederation. This party announced that the French troops were marching towards Rhette. Austria thought the time was opportune to awaken. This time she was beforehand with us.

Our president thought of retiring to Zurich. The French column, which occupied Shafhouse, prepared to march towards the Grison leagues, where they expected to have a serious conflict, when a courier from Paris carried an order not to consider the invasion of Coire by the Austrians as a hostile measure. The directory feigned to be contented with the assurance which terminated the declaration of the Austrian general. "The general commander notifies, that the entry of the imperial and royal troops is amicable, pacific, and protective. He protests that it has no other object than to protect with perfect accord, and after their own wishes, the actual government legally established."

The exalted part of the councils disapproved of the moderation of the directory. We were spoiled by two years of victories; and we found it very bad for our ennemis to do once that which we did every day. It was, however, perfectly evident that the change in the attitude of Austria announced the resolution to provoke the renewal of hostilities. The Russian army was in the heart of Germany.

The insurgents of Ireland, far from being discouraged, regained new strength. Several of our vessels departed without accord from Brest and Rochefort, and, by showing themselves upon the coast, sustained them with the hope of a better regulated disembarkment; but the coasts, covered everywhere with English troops, were inaccessible.

Superior fleets surrounded our vessels, and the Le Hoche, battered with the cannon of five of the enemy's vessels, surrendered only after prodigies of valour and intrepidity. The insurgents had no resource left but to intrench themselves in their retreats. There was but one cry in Paris upon the cause of these disasters. No one was ignorant that the delay of funds had prevented the squadron of Bompard to set sail at the same time as that of Savary, and to land in that part of Ireland that the English had not yet had time to put in a state of defence. If those funds had been expedited a few days sooner, it would have rendered the affairs of Ireland very problematic. The success of England may be attributed to the slowness and improvidence of the directory, as much as to the rapidity of the General Cornwallis.

II. THE ALLIED REPUBLICS.

AMONG the allied republics, the Cisalpine alone occupied us seriously. The General Brune, who had taken the command of our army, disapproved of the innovations and the choice of the ambassador Trouvé. To appease the discontentment, he determined upon changing every thing, without the concurrence of the new ambassador, Fouche de Nantes. They wrote to us from Milan: "We no longer know who we are, where we are going, or who to confide in. All is again overturned in our republic. This morning the gates of Milan were shut, and we learned that a part of our representatives had given in their resignation, demanded by the general-in-chief of the army of Italy, and that they were replaced by those who, not being willing to acknowledge the constitution of Trouvé, had been put aside. Three of our directors are equally forced to turn out: confirmed only a few weeks since by the French directory, they were far from expecting this disgrace. They do not know to whom they are to attribute this sudden resolution, so contrary to the last events. This nobility has thrown us into the greatest incertitude. It is well calculated to favour the plots of Austria. They must end by consulting the Cisalpine people, if they wish to satisfy reasonable people."

We were as much astonished at Paris as they were at Milan. I had already announced that I should demand a secret committee to call upon the directory, when we were informed that the changes of Brune were disapproved of, and that, to put an end to all these divisions, they were going to consult the Cisalpine people upon the new constitution that had been given by the ambassador Trouvé. That measure, by which they ought to have begun, caused all complaints to cease. Those whom Brune had deprived of their employments were restored to them. The municipal

assemblies united, accepted, by a very great majority, the new charter, and then all pretext for discontent was at an end. It is because the people are sovereign, that they can choose the worst party, and that no one has the right to impose the best, when they are contented with that which they consider good, nor the good, when they prefer the worst. That voting of the Cisalpine caused me to regret my opposition to the directorial innovations.

III. THE ARMIES.

THE General Jourdan had quitted us for the army. Championnet and Macdonald commanded in the southern part of Italy. Joubert was sent to Milan to replace Brune, and he was named general of our army of Holland. He whom Napoleon had named the child of victory, Massena, went to Switzerland to await the Russians. Preparations upon all the lines of operations took place on both sides.

IV. THE INTERIOR.

I do not speak so much of the council of ancients, as of the council of five hundred ; because, as I was a member of the last, I knew better what passed. The sentiment which predominated among the ancients was that of the insufficiency of the constitution of the year 3. Sièyes had signalized its deficiency of equilibrium between the powers as the indubitable cause of new troubles. The 18th Fructidor had confirmed his foresight, and to which his refusal to enter the directory had given a greater influence. They regretted not having paid greater attention to his counsels. They complained of his absence ; they felt vaguely that, in a short time, they should be forced into new combinations, and that no person was more capable than Sièyes to direct them. A serious inquietude upon the future destiny of the republic troubled the council of ancients. That inquietude became more sensible, according as the agitation increased in the minds of the young. They followed, however, sometimes our impulsion, all the time fearing the revolutionary exaltation, towards which we were driven by the new war, which there was no longer any hope of averting. That exaltation manifested itself in a manner not very honourable upon the subject of the transported in Fructidor. The greatest part of these victims died in the deserts of Sianamari : four or five only had escaped from the dreadful agony of so atrocious an exile, by flying to Surinam, where the Dutch had received them ; and from thence they took refuge in London. Pichegru was among the number, whose treason had been undeniably proved by the papers which Moreau himself had seized and delivered up to the direct-

ory; but among the fugitives was also the director Barthélémi, who the first had signed treaties of peace in the name of the republic—Barthélémi, whose integrity, moderation, and pacific glory, merited from his ancient colleagues respect and clemency. Another of the proscribed, whose noble and simple character honoured the council of ancients, Barbé Marbois, had refused to escape, that he might not compromise the fortune of his family. The escape of some of the transported irritated the directory, and they brought upon the carpet a new project of law that had been presented after the 18th Fructidor, and which they had abandoned. They came to propose to us to assimilate with the emigrés, the transported who had concealed themselves to avoid transportation, or who had escaped from the place of their transportation, except that within the space of two months they presented themselves to the French authorities to learn the place of their future transportation. And the penalty of the emigrants was death! I abstained from voting, although the whole of the opposition united with the directorials. That law, worthy of 1793, passed almost unanimously in the council of five hundred, and in a great majority of the ancients! In that last council, several noble voices were raised in favour of justice and humanity. Among us one single orator, the intrepid Rouchon, dared speak for the proscribed. He braved the cries and the outrages, and sustained alone against all, during several weeks, a combat in which all the glory was for the vanquished. In expiation of the silent neutrality I had kept in that circumstance, and with which I afterward reproached myself, I will cite some of the eloquent words of the orator Rouchon.

"Representatives of the people—A month after the 18th Fructidor, that is to say, at an epoch near to that day, the project of law that is now proposed was rejected as useless and unjust, as contrary to the constitution, as revolutionary! And a year afterward it is reproduced at the discussion! This project contains the constraint, the confiscation, the permanence of the penalty; and with regard to those persons whom you recall, they have never been judged. It is as unjust as it is without example, to ordain a man to return to present himself for execution! I know that the grand signor sends the cord to the pacha with whom he is discontented, to the vizier who displeases him; but I have never heard that he commands his victims to come themselves and take the fatal cord. A coup d'état should not drag after it but a momentary penalty. Never should a perpetual punishment result from it. Do you remember what Condorcet had put in the constitution? 'A penalty pronounced as a measure of public welfare, should never extend beyond six months.' No tyrant, not even Nero, ever thought of

punishing a man because he did not come to demand his own execution ; and your reporter, in proposing such a code against our ancient colleagues, pronounces at every phrase the words of justice, of humanity, of clemency ! I must own that my hair rises upon my head. . . . Is it then with a sardonic laugh that they plunge the poniard ?

"At these words I am answered with bursts of laughter. . . . Representatives of the French people," cried Rouchon : "I could imagine your laughing if the question was to pardon ; but I cannot conceive what you mean when it is a question of punishment."

They thought to reply to Rouchon in speaking of the excesses committed by the royalists during the reaction, as if Barthélémi and his companions had organized the bands of the *companies of the sun* ! They reproached the transported fugitives for having taken refuge in England, as if there had been so many free countries upon the earth where one was sure to meet with an asylum against all tyrannies. But such was ever the pitiless logic of factions ; and factions rise naturally more violent in moments of alarm.

Certainly their alarms were not without a motive ; besides the menacing attitude of the foreign powers, the depredations in the west began again ; and, at the same time, bands of armed rebels overran the environs of Brussels, of Tirel-mont, and the Luxembourg. They granted to the executive power all it demanded ; the taxes upon the patents, the roads, the gates, and windows, and upon tobacco ! The octrois, or city gates, were accepted as soon as proposed. But it too often happens that patriotic enthusiasm does not know how to be moderate, and they pass a law of banishment with as much coolness as a financial law ; they would at any price add to the power of the government. They put in force the laws against emigration. At length the opposition, that is to say, the constitutional and Jacobin, voted for some days with the most devoted partisans of the directory. The Jacobins endeavoured, even at the end of the month, to profit by the occasion. Briot prepared, in the name of the commission, to assimilate the emigrants with the priests condemned to transportation, who concealed themselves, or who entered France. They commanded them to present themselves directly to submit to the penalty. . . . It was the continuation of the new law against those who were vanquished in Fructidor. Briot gave these motives for the proposition of death : "Do you doubt," said he, "of the coalition of the refractory priests with the royalists and the emigrants ? Cast your eyes upon the nine united departments, at this moment torn and bleeding—do they not cry out to you that it is the priests who have kindled the fire of rebellion, and who want to call the English ? Do you not hear the tocsin resound in the country ? Its mournful

sound announces that the blood of Frenchmen flows, shed by the hands of Frenchmen. The defenders of the country are murdered, and the unfortunate cultivators fall beneath their blows; while the cowardly author of those troubles, with hands uplifted to heaven, prays that blood may still flow, provided that he may be preserved to create new crimes."

Briot, an ardent mind, and incorruptible patriot, forgot that the persecuted priest, pursued even to the bottom of his conscience, was not the author, but the victim of our troubles; he did not perceive that in rendering the persecution more cruel, they augmented those troubles which they desired to appease. His proposition was adjourned, but they ordered the impression of his discourse in three copies.

Thus, upon the eve of a new coalition, our march became always more uncertain. In Vendémiaire we refused to the government the nomination of some insignificant employments. . . . In Brumaire we abandoned to them, without remorse, the fate of the transported. We went alternately, from an outrageous defiance to an unlimited confidence. Public opinion, tossed from side to side, retired from us. The faults altogether of the administrative measures, the false direction and the irresolution of the legislative measures, carried away, step by step, the directorial republic, towards a state of incurable languor. Scarcely arrived at her fourth year, she had already the first features of decrepitude.

Month of Frimaire and Nivose, year 7. From the 22d of Nov., 1798, to the 21st of Jan., 1799.

Two Russian Fleets in the Mediterranean—Censure of the Newspapers Prorogued.

I. THE POWERS.

THE diplomatic influence of Sièyes maintained always the court of Prussia in neutrality. The other great powers of the continent had finished their preparations, but had not yet declared themselves; but they gave the signal to Naples and Turin. The King of Naples, encouraged by the number of soldiers that he enrolled, and by the renown of General Mack, dared to commence hostilities. He summoned all the French to quit the Roman States, republicanized and usurped since the *peace of Campo Formio*, and never acknowledged by his Sicilian Majesty, nor by his august ally, the emperor and king. The innovations made at Milan by our ambassadors, were represented in several writings of the civilians of Naples as violating the state of peace. Upon

the French replying in the negative, the Roman States were invaded by all the Neapolitan bands. Championnet evacuated momentarily Rome, where he left a strong garrison at the castle of St. Angelo. He retired into the Apennines to concentrate the few forces that he had at his disposal. He let Mack engage heedlessly, but separately, his numerous columns, and drove the aggressing monarch to the limits of his kingdom, that he was not destined long to keep. At the same moment that the great army of Mack retired in disorder, a Neapolitan division, imported by an English fleet, landed at Leghorn, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany protested diplomatically or sincerely against it. As for the King of Sardinia, he had not commenced hostilities, but the Austrians, masters of the Grison leagues, were spread to the limits even of Piedmont, whose evil dispositions began to show themselves openly, by the frequent murders of our isolated soldiers. Our safety in the south of Italy exacted that they should secure the Alps; and the directory proposed to us in the same message to declare war against the kings of Naples and Sardinia, whom they equally accused of having broken the peace. That double declaration united all the votes. We were all of us tired with so long an uncertainty. We were not long in felicitating ourselves upon our success, upon learning that the two dethroned kings had taken refuge in the islands of Sicily and Sardinia.

The Russian vessels preceded the hostilities of Suwarow. A fleet of that nation, united with the English, blockaded the coast of Holland, while another, united with the Turks, attacked the Venetian Isles that had become French. Cerigo and Zante were taken. Corfu repulsed all the efforts of the Turkish Russian fleet. The great statesman who then presided over the destinies of England, while he allied his flag with that of Russia, must have meditated more than once upon this simultaneous and double apparition of two Muscovite fleets in the seas of Holland and Greece. Pitt could not, without doubt, observe that phenomenon without anxiety for the future. . . . What would he say—what would he do? If he could see the British influence annulled at Constantinople, and the Czar dominating over the Bosphorus, and excluding the British vessels from the Black Sea!

II. THE ALLIED REPUBLICS.

THE state of war had suspended, by the fact, all exercise of national authority in the Italian republics. Our generals commanded exclusively at Genoa, and Milan, and in the Roman States. The existence of these republics was again brought in question.

Switzerland, endowed with a more ancient strength, and

an independence which she had known how to defend till that epoch, kept herself in the position in which our last treaty of alliance had placed her in face of us. She armed eighteen thousand men, who were to join our troops.

Holland had new dissensions to combat. Brabant auxiliaries, united with Dutch officers who had emigrated, entered the Batavian territory. The anarchical party who had sent for them, had framed a plot to overturn the government. The chiefs were arrested. It was to the French directory that the Batavian directory owed the discovery of this conspiracy. The Anglo-Russian fleet which cruised along the coast was probably not a stranger to these movements.

III. THE ARMIES.

THE army of Championnet re-entered in triumph at Rome, and left it immediately to take possession of the kingdom of Naples. It was but a military march ; from the deck of his vessel, the fugitive monarch could see our colours peacefully received in his beautiful capital. Leghorn, scarcely invaded by his troops, was evacuated immediately in haste. The army of Joubert took possession of all Piedmont without obstacle. They organized a provisional government at Turin ; and also, after the departure of the king for Sardinia, the Piedmontese troops entered into the service of France.

The army of Massena was posted upon Mont St. Gothard and St. Bernard, and its communications with the army of Turin were assured.

The news from Egypt was always favourable. We heard of the revolt at Cairo that was so quickly appeased, and the successive defeats of the Mamelukes, and the preparations of Napoleon for the invasion of Syria.

IV. THE INTERIOR.

WE were alarmed with regard to the ancient Vendée. The directory was called upon to know what extraordinary measures would be required in those departments. They replied that the existing laws were sufficient. This confidence reassured the councils.

Belgium gave more uneasiness at that time to the directory than La Vendée. Two serious battles had taken place in the environs of Antwerp and Enghien, in which several hundreds of rebels and soldiers had fallen. Some few days after, Louvain beheld a more serious combat. Brussels was put in a state of siege ; and the calm was not established without shedding a great deal of French blood. Many persons thought, in the legislative body, that these deplorable

struggles could only be attributed to the persecution exercised against the priests. Others, on the contrary, pretended that the persecution was not sufficiently rigorous; and the proposition of Briot against the transported priests was submitted to discussion. Violence thought to drag weakness after it; but the discussion was not more decisive than it had been in the preceding month, and a new adjournment, without any fixed term, was pronounced.

Briot was not discouraged; he had several times attacked the elections of the judges chosen by the people in the years 4 and 5. He recommenced his attack; our tribunals, according to him, were composed of royalists. The revision of all the judiciary choices appeared to him to be urgent. The sitting was stormy, and some votes only decided that they should not attempt to touch the independence of justice. I voted against Briot, but I continued to keep silence. I felt that we ought to support the government, which was menaced in the interior and the exterior; and, on the other side, I felt a repugnance at granting an extraordinary power to persons who served so ill those powers which they had already received. Several of my colleagues, uncertain, as well as myself, how to act, showed themselves more rarely at the tribune. We waited impatiently the epoch that was fixed for the replacing one of the five directors, whom chance obliged each year to quit the directory. We purposed naming Sièyes, and we trusted that he would give to the executive power more wisdom and stability.

Our political conscience was put to the test in the capital question of the liberty of the press, which they discussed about the end of the month several times. They wanted to put to the order of the day the penal law proposed by the commission, of which I formed a part, with a view of destroying the dictatorship of the police upon the newspapers. I had taken an active part in this project of law; but how refuse the evidence? How repulse the demands of the directorials? Could the royalist and Jacobin journals recommence their diatribes against the government in the midst of the war, and the insurrections in Belgium? For my part, I thought it right to yield; and I voted for the adjournment of our project of the penal law. The ancient republics, in the time of great danger, did not content themselves with partial measures of dictatorship; they resigned themselves to the dictatorship of a single man. *Caveant consules ne respublica detrimentum capiat.* We abandoned to the government, till the end of the year, the censure of the journals.

Month of Pluviose. From the 21st of January to the 20th of February, 1799.

The union of Ireland considered with regard to the English Constitution—My Speech against the Tax upon Salt—That Tax rejected a third time, after a sharp discussion.

I. THE POWERS.

IN the United States of America, the prevailing opinion was always unfavourable to France. The Congress approved of the military preparations of the President Adams, and recommended the continuation of them. The measures of the directory did not merit so much repulsion; we all thought in the legislative body, that the susceptibility and the pride of the United States was excessive. Might we not at this moment address the same complaint to our friends of the New World? But the most essential point was then, as it is now, to avoid the snare which was nearly bringing about the scandal of discord between two great nations that ought to be inseparable.

The progress of the conferences of Rastadt were in an inverse sense to the preparatives for the war. Austria, to prolong her stratagems, sent two ambassadors to Paris: these new negotiators did not blush to complain of the events at Naples. . . It was carrying the diplomatic courage very far. Austria forgot that not only the King of Naples had been the aggressor, but that it was an Austrian general who had struck the first blows. At length they ceased to form illusions. The negotiations of peace no longer deceived anybody; but nobody would have dared to suspect the outrage which, in a few days, struck our negotiators.

One of the greatest measures of Pitt occupied England and Ireland. The project of the union of the two kingdoms began to be proposed to the parliaments of London and Dublin. This project, rejected at Dublin, raised so serious a discontent against its partisans, that their safety was constantly menaced. They feared at one moment a general revolt, and to appease people's minds, they spread the report that the project was adjourned for a year. That report was soon contradicted by the discussions of the British parliament, where the illustrious Sheridan displayed the highest eloquence. Several times he combated the powerful minister, who replied to his eloquence by a reason of state, calm and profound.

"What will become of Ireland?" cried Sheridan; "she will no longer be a country." "Ireland," replied Pitt, "will become the country of England; she will make one common country with us and Scotland; she will partake of all the good that we enjoy." No orator was more beloved among

us than Sheridan: the admiration of France was divided between him and Fox. No man was more detested than the son of Chatham, to whom all our evils, whatever they might be, were attributed. The project, therefore, of a union was considered at Paris as a sacrilegious enterprise, against which they had not sufficient anathemas. By that egotist sentiment, from which no one is exempted, we condemned in our enemy that which we admired in the convention, the reunion of all the provinces under one law. We who had pursued the federalism even to the scaffold, and whose political symbol was *the republic one and indivisible*; we would no longer see patriotism among our neighbours, but in their divisions; nor good sense, but in federalism. All our sympathies were for the adversaries of the union. Without doubt we should not be sincere if we did not appreciate in a different manner at this moment our opinions of that epoch; without doubt, in shaking off the prejudices and hatreds of that period, it must be owned, that all the objections which they heaped together against the great measure, signified very little. But is there not another manner of considering the question? If the union offered, with regard to the present, only an aspect of concord and strength, did it leave no inquietude for the future? And the great statesman, who did not foresee that future, is he without blame? It is under that point of view that the union of England with Ireland has not been sufficiently considered; and I beg my readers to permit me to pause for a moment.

A conquered province is governed by the conquering power, according to particular laws; or else she is united to that power of which she becomes a part. As long as she is treated as a conquered country, it is quite natural that her provincial interests should be sacrificed to the interests of the conquerors: "*Vae victis.*" A good politic is then satisfied. If they do not abuse their victory sufficiently to rekindle the war, and if they know how to employ a mixture of force and moderation in the legislative measures, with which the vanquished have nothing to do but to obey.

The conquerors are magnanimous if they leave to the conquered country some of its vague national forms, to which the vanity of the feeble is too happy to cling illusively. Such was the state of Ireland before the union. An active inspection, a salutary mistrust, were the inevitable consequences of that state of affairs. The oppression of six millions of Irish Catholics, forced to pay the tithes of a Protestant worship, was not devoid of a certain relative justness: it was a tribute to the religion of the conquerors. That religious subjection of the greatest number towards the church of the dominant minority, was the consequence of a political subjection. One of those forces supported the other. One was perhaps necessary to the other; and if it was necessary,

the political necessity absolved it. The Irish had not only been conquered, but despoiled: their lands had been distributed to the Protestants. The priests had been deprived of the tithes, as the proprietors had been of their lands. A conquest, driven to such terrible extremities, could not fail to leave the most bitter remembrances behind it. That terrible abuse of a victory could not quickly be forgotten. The oppressor, not having the right, must naturally have no other support left but the sword. In maintaining beneath his yoke those whom he had stripped, in transmitting to the ministers of the victorious church the tithes of the conquered church, the law was not inconsistent—it was the logic of the strongest.

But the conquered and despoiled population evinced its discontent by alarming struggles, of which foreign enemies endeavoured to profit; and the conquering power, for its own security for the future, will treat as brothers those whom it has hitherto oppressed! It is resolved to enfranchise and incorporate them, that they may have no longer to combat them. . . . Nothing could be better, if they did not fail in their aim—if *they do all, absolutely all that they ought to do*, to assure the affection of their new brothers. If they will sell the confiscated land, and the tithes of that land, to those to whom they belong; or, at least, (as Mr. Grey said in the sitting of the house of commons of the 14th February,) let the union of sentiments, of interests, of hearts, take place between the two countries, and that they do not confine themselves to the union of two legislative chambers. But if the moral reconciliation cannot take place, from whatever side this impossibility may arise, the end has failed; the incorporation of the conquered province, instead of becoming a salutary measure of public welfare, may then become fatal, by introducing into the state a foreign influence—by opening, as it may be called, the entrails of the political body to a hostile element. The Irish influence in the British parliament was not foreseen, or not appreciated as it ought to have been. That is proved by the protestation of the Lords Holland, Thanet, and King, (in the sitting of the house of lords of the 18th of April,) and by the speech of Mr. Fox, at the whig club, of the 9th of May. The protestation of the lords rested chiefly upon the violation of the Irish independence, upon the insufficiency of the measures taken to calm the troubles, and upon the enormous increase of influence for the crown that must result from the union! The speech of Mr. Fox condemned with justice the violent and arbitrary means employed in Ireland to oblige them to vote for the ministerial measures; but in declaring against the project, neither the protestation nor the discourse foresaw that the result would be *very different from giving an increase* to the royal influence. In the mean time, by not enfranchising six millions of Catholics from the Protestant tithes, and by not satisfying other-

wise the Catholic clergy, could they reasonably expect to satisfy Ireland? I do not say that it was possible to restore the lands and the tithes to the ancient proprietors; but time has often more force than justice: and since a reason of state, *good or bad*, prevented them from completely repairing all their past faults, why not continue to contain, as they had done, the country which they would not satisfy? Why, above all, admit a deputation of that discontented country to partake of the supreme power of the British nation? The great majority of the Irish remaining disaffected to the English aristocracy, in whom they beheld their despoilers, the representatives of those people must either be unfaithful to the religious and political sentiments of their constituents, or enemies of the English constitution, and, above all, of that class which enjoyed their spoils. The concourse of those representatives in the British parliament, with the oblivion of all the injustice, confiscations, and intolerance of the conquest, with the reconciliation of minds in Ireland, would have been a measure of high wisdom; but if they had not yet forgotten those injuries, if the moral reconciliation had not taken place, they should have waited, for it would have been a hundred times better for England to have left the Irish parliament in its island, than to have exposed itself to behold the day arrive, when the legislative balance in London should incline at the will of the representatives of Dublin. In fact, do they seek to learn from the past, from whence is the source of that consumption that mines the old aristocratical, electoral, and monarchical constitution of England? An observer would soon be convinced that the evil remounts to the legislative, and not real union of Ireland; the most illustrious and wisest defender, therefore, of that unrivalled social equilibrium, would be the first and real author of weakening it. So true it is, that all human conceptions are but the effect of hazard. And so difficult is the task of expiating the destruction of an entire nation, decimated, despoiled, and pursued, even to the sanctuary of her conscience!!--Let the proud conqueror of Warsaw look at Ireland. . . . The religious persecutions, the confiscations, the affronts, and the scaffold, produce soon or late an impoisoned fruit. After so many years, England bears in her own bosom the wound which she gave to Ireland: to cure that wound, the wisdom of the thoughtful is obscured, it hits at the wrong end of its calculations: those who have the same interests divide. . . . When Heaven chastises, of what avail is the most skilful politic?

I feel sensible that it may appear very hardy in a foreigner, when he dares to condemn one of the greatest operations of Pitt; and I hasten to observe that it is as difficult to foresee the future, as it is easy to reason upon the past and the present, of which the whole offers, under the same coup

d'œil, the cause of the effect. The future results of a political organization depend upon so many circumstances, that the most profound statesman should, above all, recommend his works to fortune, or to that unknown god of the ancients, that was probably the future. Did Pitt, when he called a hundred of the sons of Erin to Westminster, absolutely neglect to calculate the moral strength of action that would influence the representatives, upon the continuation of the state of disaffection, of so numerous a population ? Or was it his intention to put an end to that state of disaffection, by reconciling with the Catholic clergy ? Or did he, in his calculation as a legislator, place so high a value upon the good sense of old constitutional England, (whig or tory,) that he considered the Irish influence but as a fraction that might be neglected ? For the honour of humanity, for the interest of that people, now become the ally of France, of that people where reigns for all true and equal liberty, may policy, justice, and tolerance, produce such a reparatory and conservative result, that the great measure of the union may become the brightest title of glory of the son of Chatham !

II. THE ALLIED REPUBLICS.

The allied republics struggled against the administrative committees of the directory, and the agents of the military administration who disputed their resources. They seconded powerfully the efforts of our warriors. A new republic arose upon the ruins of the Neapolitan throne : it took the name of Parthenopian. As for Piedmont, the provisional government, instead of proclaiming its nominal independence, demanded of its own accord to be united with France. They proclaimed everywhere that the demand had been secretly ordered by our generals ; but that order was not necessary. Why should not a little neighbouring people have desired to be incorporated with the great republic ? Our decrees of union were not incomplete like those of Ireland : they despoiled no one, and they rendered the people equal, in every respect, with those of Paris. It was by such a decree that Corsica had passed from the state of a conquered island to that of a French department ; and the sincerity of that incorporation had effaced all bitter recollections of the conquest. Turin desired, with perfect confidence, a union which unfortunately destroyed all hope of Italian independence ; for what is Italy without the Alps ?

III. THE ARMIES.

A very unfortunate choice had signalized this month as the first of our reverses. The minister of war, Scherer, was named general-in-chief of the army of Italy. During his

ministry, Scherer had repressed with firmness the abuses of the administration of our armies. The military had an antipathy against him. The directory, seduced by his fame, had the folly to prefer him to Moreau, whom they had not pardoned for having waited for the arrestation of Pichegru before he denounced his correspondence with foreigners. Scherer, notwithstanding his age, departed for Milan.

IV. THE INTERIOR.

The troubles of Belgium, having been severely repressed, allowed us to declare that Brussels was no longer in a state of siege. On the 21st of January, we again gave the world the sad spectacle of a great civilized nation, celebrating the regicide by an impious festival. The preceding year, Napoleon had taken advantage of the pretext of his not being in service, to keep out of the way of that anniversary ; they could not persuade him to appear, except confounded amid the other members of the institute. That year several members of the two councils did not appear at those funeral assemblies. The brothers of Napoleon were not seen among them.

They informed us, a few days before or after, that they had celebrated, at the tower of London, a festival equally moral. We were told that upon the report that Napoleon had been assassinated, the cannons of the tower had proclaimed the hideous approbation of the English minister. We would not believe it.

The most brilliant discussion of the legislative body took place upon the tax on salt ; a tax that had been several times rejected, and that the directory thought proper to propose again as the only means of filling up the deficiency of the last year. In the two councils, a great part of the sittings were sacrificed to that question. I went no more to the directory ; but I was invited, with a great deal of earnestness, to go there. I had contributed to cause the refusal of that tax ; and I was known to be a decided adversary against taxes upon objects of the first necessity. They endeavoured to obtain my consent or my neutrality. I should have yielded if I had been convinced of the deficit, or of the impossibility of supplying it by any other means ; but I declared my determination to combat the project without mercy. I was provoked at the stubbornness of the authors of the project, and I inscribed myself among the opposing orators ; and whether it was with our colleagues of the five hundred, or with our friends in the council of ancients, I neglected nothing to render useless all the efforts of the government. They accused me of violence, and that imputation was just ; but my violence held to a profound conviction that I still completely feel. I could never understand

how they could possibly attempt to tax those objects that are indispensable for the subsistence of the poor; and in the midst of the lights of our economists, my mind has always remained a rebel to the science of indirect taxes upon things of the first necessity. Nothing appeared to me to invalidate the evidence of what Rousseau observes in a letter to D'Allembert: "The taxes upon corn, upon salt, beneath an appearance of justice, contain the most crying injustice, as he who has little, pays a great deal, and he who has a great deal, pays but little." I pronounced the following discourse at the sitting of the 13th Pluviose.

"*Representatives of the People:*

"We are discussing the means to complete the six hundred millions of revenue necessary for the expenses of the year 7; each of us in that important discussion seeks the truth with sincerity, and free from all personal consideration.

"To complete that deficiency, they announce to us projects of economy and amelioration, and propose to us, for the fourth time, a tax upon salt. Discussing, for the first time, a question upon the finances, my inexperience ought to intimidate me; but there are principles engraven upon the heart, which it suffices to follow not to be misguided. The observations which I am about to submit to you, are drawn from the source of those principles, which all the doctrines and all the committees cannot destroy.

"I have inquired, in the first place, what was in fact the deficit of the last year. I then examined the means which they offer you to supply it, and I have read attentively, and compared with your political system, all that they discussed and printed for several months past upon the utility of taxing objects of the first necessity.

"Notwithstanding the readiness with which I undertook that examination, the sum of the deficiency appears to me to be very uncertain; and the principles adopted by the commission of finances, appear to me to be contrary to the spirit of the constitution, illegal, and against the rights of the poorer classes; little favourable to the public treasure of the present year, and advantageous only to speculators.

"What is the amount of the deficiency? Several contradictory opinions have been presented. Tired of that contradiction, you have endeavoured to make your three commissions of direct and indirect taxes, as well as those of the finances, united in one alone to make you a report. In the sitting of the 24th Vendemiaire, our colleague, Destrem, in the name of the three commissions, formally declared, that in procuring to the treasury the re-entry of the fifty-five millions, you would complete the receipts, and would assure you the payment of all the ordinary and extraordinary expenses of the year 7. To effect that re-entry, the reporter proposes to you the tax upon the gates, windows, and chimneys, and

also upon the horses, carriages, and servants—this your three commissions have valued altogether at forty-five millions! There remained then only ten millions: while awaiting at least that sum from the rectification of the customs and the right upon the fabrication of paper. Thus, we have all thought to arrive at the end of that painful career. I have placed before you the proper terms of your three commissions.

"For some time past they have published, upon the indirect taxes, very strange ideas; they have professed the doctrine that these taxes could not be more conveniently placed than upon the commodities that were necessary for the general consumption. On the other hand, they have repulsed as Vandal and revolutionary the project of taxing the enjoyments of idleness and affluence! They proposed a tax upon corn, and they proclaimed the inviolability of luxury! They would not have dared to propagate these ideas without some circumspection under any monarchy, in the time even of their greatest corruption, that have been propagated beneath a republican government, the natural promoter of all opinions favourable to the welfare of the greatest number.

"'The tax which we propose to you,' continued the reporter of your commissions, "has not, like the tax upon salt, the *fault of being impolitic, iniquitous, and without profit*. It will not strike the indigent like the rich; it will not recall a thousand bitter remembrances to a thousand presentiments that are not all without reason; it will not make the fortune of a few greedy speculators, who often convert into gold the tears of the indigent; it will not occasion either revolt or inquisition, nor new establishments of a ruinous exchequer, and of a bureaucratic aristocracy which seems to threaten to overwhelm the entire republic!!!"

"You hear, representatives of the people! Your commission of the finances, and those of the direct and indirect contributions, in proposing to you, on the 24th of Vendémiaire, a tax to fill up the deficit, announces to you, that *this tax has not, like that upon the salt, the fault of being impolitic, inquisitorial, and without profit*. . . . And the 26th Nivose, those same commissions, notwithstanding the tax upon the windows that we have adopted, brings the deficit to the same sum as before that tax, and you propose to fill it, the same tax which they condemned! . . . I pause here. There are ideas that, to be seized, need only to be announced.

"The 26th of Nivose—you have heard the report of the Citizen Malés, who announced to you again the deficiency of fifty millions! Since upon the 24th of Vendémiaire it was only fifty-five millions, when even the tax upon the windows should be reckoned at sixteen millions, it follows, then, at the most moderate calculation, that the deficiency is not so

great as the reporter tells us. To justify his assertion, he informs us that several of the taxes that were decreed, did not render the sum at which the ministers themselves had valued them. I cannot suppose that the deputies of the people, in the matter of taxes, would diminish the valuation of the agents of the executive power.

" We have also examined if the demand of six hundred millions was not exaggerated! By several reports, have we not been convinced that the account of the ministers required some deductions? However, if, notwithstanding that conviction, we had accorded the entire sum, why diminish each day the supposed produce of the taxes decreed, and contradict, by vague assertions, those solemn and public valuations? I place before you, upon this subject, a passage of the report of the Citizen Destrem, in the name of the same commissions of which the Citizen Malés is to-day the organ.

" " As it is essential to fix the council upon the question of the expenses for the year 7, and consequently upon the necessity of establishing a sum of taxes of which the receipt will cover the expenses, and that it is useful, I may even say necessary, that the French people know, that if we carry the receipts to a very high sum, it is because the expenses that they must cover are just and indispensable. It is then a duty of your commissions to say to that tribune, that in completing by fifty-five millions of new taxes the six hundred millions decreed for the ordinary service of the year 7, you assure that service, even if some of the indirect taxes do not render the entire sum at which the produce is valued, whether it is in the description joined to the message to the directory, of the first of Messidor, or whether it is in the report of our colleague Villers, of the 22d of last Thermidor.

" After that positive declaration of your commissions, after the comparison of the two reports made in Vendémiaire and Nivose, it appears to me to be very uncertain that the actual deficit can be fifty millions.

" Let us now examine the means offered by the Citizen Malés. He announces to us that to equalize the receipts to the expenses, your commissions know only three means:—

" 1st. Reduction of the expenses by the economies and reforms in all the offices that will admit of it.

" 2d. Augmentation in the collecting of the duties already established.

" 3d. Creation of one or several branches of revenue.

" He has presented you successively a sketch of the reforms and the ameliorations, and I think it useless to follow him in all his calculations; it is sufficient to recall to you what he says in page 16.

" " I have shown that we might hope to cover the ha' ..

the deficit by economy and ameliorations in the collecting of duties already established; and I have added that it was indispensable to seek the surplus in the establishment of some new branches of the revenue.'

" Thus, representatives of the people, your commissions assure you that the economies and the ameliorations will produce you a sum of twenty-five millions. I believe that these reforms will go much further: it is sufficient to cast the eye upon the state of the expenses of the war and the marine. We have made funds for the armies of the land and sea far above the effective number of men. By calculating that overplus, we find that the economies must exceed twenty-five millions; and perhaps a new tax will not be necessary. If there remained, however, a little deficiency, I should vote for supplying it by a tax upon certain objects of luxury; but as long as that deficiency shall not be demonstrated to me more clearly, I shall not consent to fresh taxes. I cannot see how a vague and contradictory word is sufficient for the decree of twenty millions of taxes.

" Why has not the commission made haste to offer us the detailed account of the reforms to effectuate and of the ameliorations to be obtained? Instead of confining itself to letting us have but a glimpse of that inviting perspective—why did it previously propose the tax upon salt? It is because you have already rejected it several times, that this tax obtains the priority. And if it is true that a legislator must tremble in proposing a new tax; if he rejoices at the idea of a useful reform, why, since they talk to us about salt, have they not employed the time in fixing in a precise manner the state of those economies that they have only announced to us?

" It is again the reporter who furnishes us with the answer to that question, in expressing, in page 16, in terms which I have read several times, always with increased surprise, and which I beg the chamber to weigh well with reflection.

" ' Your commissions,' said the reporter, ' have regarded the establishment, as a new branch of revenue, (that is to say the tax upon salt,) as so extremely necessary, that they have charged me to declare, that without *that tax* you have not to hope for either economy or amelioration, or for the return of any credit !!!'

" And what connection, may I ask our colleague, what connection does there exist between the tax upon salt, and the ameliorations and reforms that are to be operated in the other parts of the service? How then!—that tax acknowledged by those *same commissioners*, the 24th of Vendemiaire, as *impolitic, inquisitorial, and of no profit*, becomes all at once so necessary, that we are solemnly informed that if we again refuse them, we must renounce the twenty-five millions of economies and reforms, that they thus make to depend entirely upon an odious tax, discredited yesterday at this tribune, but

without which there is no safety for the people at *this moment*!

" So manifest a contradiction, so strange a connection, between the amelioration so long retarded and a tax which they never cease to reproduce, proves to every honest man, that the exaggerated calculations of the reporter, and the fearful images which he has described to us, have no other end than to wrest from us the tax upon salt. What confidence can all that phantasmagoria inspire in us ?

" As for me, I declare, that it is demonstrated to me clearly, that the deficit cannot arrive at fifty millions ; and that the reforms will in a great measure cover it. I think it reasonable, just, and politic, to know precisely the amount of those reforms before we accord another tax ; and then, if there still remain some millions to be found, we will discuss the choice of a new tax. The nation then, instead of seeing in us only the distributors of its revenues, will see also the economists ; then there will no longer remain any suspicions with those who think that all the reforms pompously announced are only a deceitful illusion offered at a distance to mislead us.

" It is here the case to explain more in detail that doctrine which has been propagated, for some months past, with so much profusion, a doctrine that I have already remarked as too favourable to luxury, and tending, as a last consequence, to tax the bread that the great majority of the French people procure by the sweat of their brow ; that doctrine which they endeavour by all means to introduce among us, is the true cause of the obstinacy which they evince against the tax upon salt. That tax will not produce scarcely anything this present year, but our law would be the prelude to the admission of the financial system of England, which monarchical governments, charged with an immense debt, may covet, but which republican legislators must repulse. They want to arrive at drawing, from what they call the multitude, enormous sums which render, without doubt, generally speaking, the tax upon the commodities of the first necessity. But because that doctrine remained for a moment without reply, do they believe it cannot be attacked ? Is it sufficient that a tax will produce a great deal that they should adopt it ? Do they think to dazzle us by a pompous comparison of the state of England with ours ? The prosperity of England !!! Where, then, do they see it with so much certainty ? Have they thoroughly calculated the extent of her debt and the influence of the taxes upon the population ? Have they examined if it is not upon that basis that reposes the omnipotence of a minister king ? Have they forgotten that Fox and Sheridan are reduced to appear no longer in the British senate ; or that it is vain they cause their immortal voices to be heard ? No, no, representatives

of the people, let us not quit the rigid principles of popular wisdom for the financial system of our enemies. There, where the legislators have the imprudence to open the veins of the state, the exhaustion, a mortal exhaustion, is inevitable. In talking to us of the prosperity of England, have they made all these reflections? As for the public credit, does it not repose in safety under a good administration, under reforms that have been accomplished, and not promised only? Would they make us believe, also, that the public credit depends upon the tax on salt? Yes, without doubt, it is what the Citizens Malés and Jacqueminot want to make us believe. I will reply to them by a single observation which will destroy all their reasoning: We have made funds for *six hundred thousand men and eighty ships of war.* Our army and our marine remain under that number. . . . There cannot then exist, *at this moment*, a deficiency so pressing to force the contractors to double the price of their bargain. We are assured, however, that the distrust of those contractors really exists. Well, if that is really the case, we must attribute it to other causes. . . . It is the enormous sacrifices that are exacted by the subaltern agents which cause the dearness of the markets. It is there, and not in the doctrine of Smith, that you should see the source of the discredit and the mistrust; and if the directory knows how to punish those who abuse its confidence, the dearness of the prices will cease, and the effects will disappear with the cause.

"To justify the taxes upon the objects of the first necessity, they talk of the superiority and the facility of their collection. So be it. But all that is useful is not always conformable to our duties. We will not renounce this sacred principle, *that in a free country, they may tax property, but not the person.* To conquer our repugnance, they endeavour to show us that, by the augmentation relative to the price of days of the workman, it is always in the definitive, it is the rich who acquit the tax. Strange reasoning! If the price of the days of the workmen increases, their number will diminish; and work and money being synonymous for the poor, he would lose on one side what he would gain by that increase of salary; if it was real, would it not be always in proportion with the increase of the price of provisions? Would that indemnify, with exactitude, him who, every evening, finds beneath his thatch a family who look up to him for bread? To understand that theory of which they appear to be so proud, every workman ought to put the same price upon his work; but for that, ought not all the workmen to have the same number of mouths to feed? The single man, then, having less necessities than the father of a family, will he not sell his work dearer? As he is generally younger and stronger, the single man would be preferred; and the father of a family would be but too happy to imitate,

for the price of his day's work, him who is more vigorous and who has less wants. . . . If he found work at the same price as the single man, his work would be insufficient to satisfy his family with that commodity that you had taxed without renoirse. Is every workman also certain of finding work every day ? And if he cannot find any, or if he is ill, what becomes of your proportions between the price of provisions and the price of his day's work ? You may find that chimerical proportion in Smith's book, for what may not be found in books ? but you will not find it upou the pallet of the poor man dying with hunger ! The unfortunate, the women, the old men who can no longer work, the little fortunes, the small pensioners, the parents of warriors, where will they find a compensation for the dearness with which your law would strike their bread or their salt ?

" Representatives of the people, those classes that are poor and respectable should draw our attention, more than those classes who know only luxury, and know not what it is to want. No ; while the brothers and the sons of the citizens shed their blood in the service of the republic, you will not permit that such a system of taxes should arrive to render the existence of their families more difficult, already sufficiently painful.

" Do not forget that the welfare of the people depends upon the lowness of the price of provisions necessary for their existence ; that every day's comfort, which consoles and sustains the poor, and which alone can soften the bitterness of that inequality of fortune inherent to our poor nature. If by our laws we diminish and destroy *the only wealth of the greatest number*, we betray our first duty.

" I trust you will not approve of that impious doctrine. With our eyes turned towards our constituents, let us not be carried away by weakness to the evil that we have already repulsed so many times. No ; notwithstanding the wonderful art of opposing to your good intentions, address, and obstinacy, notwithstanding the attacks that are renewed without ceasing, *we will not tax the provisions that are of the first necessity*. I can vouch for your paternal solicitude, and all those generous sentiments which animate you, the monopolizers will be baffled a fourth time, and they will learn that in a republic they are sometimes deceived in prophesying the acts of the legislative body.

" I suppose that the defenders of the project of the commission have employed every possible reasoning to cause it to be adopted : but I never could have supposed that they could have seen in that tax upon salt the true popularity. . . . Party spirit, the envy of domineering without any obstacle, might change enough in some heads the natural signification of the words ; so that they call anarchy fidelity to the principles of a mandate, and accuse even silence of conspiracy.

But do they hope to make the nation partakers of the same delirium, who listens and judges as a sovereign the words and acts of its deputies? Do they hope to persuade it, that it is for the love of the people that they have employed, for so long a time, in favour of the tax upon salt, the placards, the libels, and the injuries with which the ministerial journals are filled, and which all the other instruments of the press copy with a servility that is but little honourable to them? Will the people believe that their welfare will be increased at the same time as the fortune of the monopolizers? It would be in vain to reckon upon so much good nature.

"The true popularity of a legislator is that which he obtains in watching and defending the interests of the public, with as much zeal as if it was his own personal interest. Or, let me ask, who is he, who, after having approved with his eyes shut the accounts of his house, would continue, without ceasing, to grant fresh funds, before he had assured himself that those which he had already given were expended? Such a senseless conduct is exactly what they propose to us; and the defenders of the tax upon salt have in vain endeavoured to weaken the contradiction of their principles with the republican principles which direct us: they cannot efface from their project the seal of national reprobation.

"I leave aside the details of the project. For myself, I will only consider the principle under which that tax reposes. It is in hatred of this principle that your conviction has been already expressed by a reiterated refusal: the conviction of the legislator does not change in a few days, except he finds himself justly exposed to decline in public opinion.

"I shall conclude by only recalling to you, as several orators have done who have preceded me, that this tax would be of use alone during this present year to those who have stored their warehouses with salt, which your three decisions against the tax could not prevent. The law upon salt in the warehouses will open a new source for the dilapidations of a thousand agents. It will produce but a feeble increase to the treasury, even from the declaration of your own commissioners. The people support all the weight; the speculators alone will receive the benefit; and the next day they would come again to ask you, with the same calculations and the same reasonings, a new indirect contribution which would probably enrich again fresh speculators, equally as provident as those of to-day. . . . Thus the tax upon tobacco, valued at ten millions in the project, is reduced to four millions after the law. . . . Thus we no longer hear valued at sixteen millions the tax upon gates and windows. At the aspect of such reductions, might we not compare our budget of the year 7 to the infernal cask of

the Danaïdes? And certainly we will not be condemned to fill it without ceasing with the tears of those who have confided to us their defence.

"I resume:—and I demand the order of the day upon the tax on salt; and that they declare to me in principle, that there shall not be any tax made upon the commodities of the first necessity.

"I demand, also, that previous to any proposition for a new tax, the commissions united, present us a precise report upon the economies, the reforms, and the meliorations, in the collections already established. After this report, we shall know if there exists a deficit; and in that case, it is our duty to surround the directory with all her constitutional strength, I demand that your commissioners present directly the projects of the taxes, provided they do not weigh upon the commodities of the first necessity.

"I insist, above all, that the principle be put to the vote."

This discourse excited a great deal of agitation in the council. The public galleries applauded, notwithstanding the rules, and were called to order. They ordered an impression of the discourse. The reporter Malés felt very sensibly so direct an attack.

"I will undertake beforehand," he cried, "the engagement to pulverize . . . to prove that Lucien Bonaparte, against his intentions, without doubt, has committed capital errors. I demand for the discussion to continue."

The discussion was adjourned to the next day. We did not doubt the result. The directorials, exasperated, were disconcerted; the opposition from that day took a character of violence that it had not before.

The next day the Deputy Creuzé Latouche, in a very eloquent discourse, defended the tax and the commissions of the finances. He raised the hopes of the partisans of the tax, as he talked on my pretended errors in calculation. I had printed the same day in the Moniteur the following note:

"The Citizen Creuzé Latouche has affirmed in his discourse of the 14th, that I had committed an error in calculation; I think it right to deny that assertion, as it is absolutely false.

"I said that the deficit did not appear to me to be fifty millions, because upon the 24th of Vendémiaire, the Citizen Destrém, in the name of the commission having brought the deficit to fifty-five millions, and the tax upon the windows being valued at sixteen millions, by the Citizen Malés himself, it evidently results that the deficit cannot be fifty-five, but less by sixteen, that is to say thirty-nine millions:—except the

commissioner formally disavows his report of the 24th Vendémiaire, a disavowal which, not having been made, cannot serve to form the opinions of the representatives of the people.

"This, then, is what I said, and from whence I conclude that the deficit was not so great as the reporter told us; but neither he, nor any other person, has replied to the inquiry.

"I never pretended that the taxes proposed by the Citizen Destrem would have supplied the deficit, because I knew very well that sum had been rejected, and the others reduced. I have then only calculated the taxes of the Citizen Destrem for sixteen millions. I have heard that that sum was to diminish so much of the deficit, and not that it was to supply it. The supposition of the Citizen Creuzé Latouche is then gratuitous, and the error is in consequence upon his side, as he has taken wrong my opinion upon the actual deficit!"

This note remained without an answer: it was impossible to refute it.

But the directory thought itself sufficiently strong not to draw back. The last victories in Piedmont and Naples had increased their audacity; they addressed to us, during the sitting, a message where they rendered us responsible for our delay in completing the receipts: that document finished thus: "The government absolves itself in the eyes of the republic from all responsibility for the disastrous consequences that an interruption of the most sacred and urgent circumstances will cause."

This message, of which the reading followed the discourse of Creusé Latouche, irritated us—as it was evidently made to force us to their will. It was not, however, without effect upon impartial and undecided minds. The partisans of the government endeavoured to profit by that circumstance to close the discussion. Girod Pouzol, who was much esteemed in the council, insisted upon their voting instantly: "It is precisely," said he, "because they heard yesterday a very luminous and eloquent opinion against the project—and to-day, for the project, an opinion equally eloquent and luminous, that I demand the close of the discussion. I do not believe there is anything new to be heard upon that subject."

I was, for my part, disposed to put it to the vote. Not having as yet experience in the assemblies, I did not imagine that the art of profiting by an incident often decides the victory. One of my colleagues, better informed than I was, warned me that if they voted at that moment, the tax would pass. I profited by his advice; and notwithstanding the compliment that Girod Pouzol had addressed to me, I followed him to the tribune, where I combated him as follows:—

"I do not see why the discourses that have hitherto been pronounced appear sufficient, and why all the orators that are registered are not to be heard. Certainly they have not said all that might have been said, which is proved by their refusing to hear what there remains to say. Whatever arguments or imputations they may make upon the subject; whatever accusations of conspiracy they may form, and from whatever authority those perfidious suggestions may proceed, I shall remain as insensible to personalities as the marble of this tribune. I shall listen only to the voice of my conscience; and I shall do only that which I think conformable to the interests of the people.

"Who shall dare to say that there has existed here an opposition tending to deprive the government of the means which are necessary for it? Was it not with general consent that the 200,000 conscripts were called to arms, and that the 125 millions destined for their maintenance was voted. They announce to us to-day a deficit—they demand fresh resources. Ought we not to discuss the necessity, the results, the advantages, and the inconveniences? Must our determination be carried away by an incident, by an influence out of the council? We should prove, on the contrary, to our constituents, that we have decided only after having maturely weighed their interests. There is never a responsibility for the representatives of the people to discuss in liberty. I demand that the discussion may continue."

The discussion continued. The effects of the directorial message, skilfully arranged, were neutralized in that sitting; but they had alarmed the timid. Two days were again employed to combat and defend the unfortunate tax, that the government desired to have at any price. It was in vain that they were offered several taxes equivalent, and that were easier to collect. . . . They repulsed all that was offered. After a very stormy sitting, the government gained by forty-six voices. After the adoption of the principle which was so odious to us, we desired at least to diminish the evil—the tax was fixed at a halfpenny in the pound. I desired that it should not be increased, and although discouraged, I again spoke upon the reduction of the first article, and proposed the following amendment:—

"I propose to declare that the tax of a halfpenny per pound upon salt can never be increased. The majority pronounced yesterday. It does not follow that we should again renew the combat: but it is necessary to shut the mouths of the malevolent, and not to leave them the pretext of accusing your intentions. I do not see why you repulse my amendment. Will they, in opposition to this, pretend that, as the legislative body votes every year the contributions, what I propose is useless and unconstitutional? But the project of law says, lower down, that the right cannot be

confirmed! . . . If you thus anticipate the decision of your successors, you might as well decree that the tax should not be augmented. In making this proposition, I consider myself the organ of several of our colleagues whose opinions were quite contrary to the tax, and who have finished by consenting only in consequence of the lowness of the price of the tax. This declaration, which I beg of you not to refuse to make, will have the good effect of tranquillizing the contributaries: it will impose silence upon the malevolent, who are ever ready to seize upon occasions to do mischief, and to impoison our intentions, and to throw a discredit upon our decrees. They will not fail to say, that you are contented to-day with a halfpenny, but that to-morrow you will exact two or three, &c. I insist upon the declaration which I propose as an amendment to your first article." My proposition was repulsed; the majority would not embellish their victory by moderation. Sad victory, which served only to make enemies for the directory; for the council of ancients rejected the tax after a debate that was equally as sharp and as prolonged as ours, in which Cornet, Lemercier, and Boudin, decided the votes in our favour. The project of law was sent back to us. The directory resigned itself by force, and our commissions of the finances occupied themselves with new endeavours necessary to make up the deficit.

I have, perhaps, detained my readers too long upon that question; but it appears to me that it is not without interest at the moment in which I write. Many of the departments of France complain, at this very time, against the tax upon salt; for that tax, so often repulsed by us under the republic, was adopted under the imperial monarchy, which does not make any sort of change in my conviction. It was a sad deviation from the popular spirit which animated the emperor when that tax was re-established afterward. For these thirty years past our financial system has made no sort of liberal progress, since the person of the man who has only his hands for his fortune, is struck by our taxes; as if that personal charge did not sufficiently oppress him, other taxes raise the price of commodities of the first necessity. These are the abuses which are really counter revolutionary, and evidently in opposition to the principles of 1789, which the French press should combat without ceasing. It is in succouring the most numerous classes, and not in doubtful theories, that the social progress consists.

Besides, this grand struggle was sustained on each side, in the two councils, with an impetuosity which was very fatal to the directory. It was then that the conviction was established, in many people's minds, that such pilots were very likely to shipwreck us. The conduct of the council of ancients was highly politic. It is by sustaining the material

interests of the people that a legislative assembly becomes powerful: whether that chamber is composed of young or old, let it be elective for life, or hereditary, there is no real strength for it, but in its popularity. Wo to those who, forgetting that, repose their whole strength of right upon the sword. In a free state, a representative chamber is nothing when it has lost public opinion; and the sword will not sustain a long time that authority which opinion has condemned.

Month of Ventose. Germinal and Floreal, year 7. From the 20th of February to the 21st May, 1799.

New Elections contrary to the Directory—Assassination of our Plenipotentiaries at Rastadt—Sièyes named Director.

I. THE POWERS.

THE spirit of peace and reconciliation in the American nation, triumphed over a vanity skilfully envenomed by diplomacy. The president named three negotiators, of whom the congress and the people beheld the choice with equal satisfaction. That measure retarded the probability of a fratricide war between the two grand republics of the new and ancient world.

Russia and the Porte signed their treaty of alliance at Jassy. Our heroic expedition to Egypt, formed against the Russian and English influence, had for its first results, the contrary of that which they desired to obtain, natural effect of a vast plan of which they neglected one of the principal parts. The directory was culpable in forgetting the mission of the Citizen Talleyrand at Constantinople. That individual egotism could have deterred a public man from a journey which might have terminated in the Seven Towers, was perfectly natural; but a government which holds the reins with so feeble a hand, is a thousand times more culpable than its agents. The Russians did not lose sight of the islands of Greece. After a resistance of several months, Corfu yielded at length to the fleets of the czar. The gold which Pitt accorded to Austria, was in the end to be repaid by streams of blood of the Continent. The Archduke Charles had passed the river Jun, and directed his columns towards Ulm. The General Jourdan had passed the Rhine. The Count Metternich, ambassador of Austria at Rastadt, ceased to dissimulate, and satisfied with having prevented our peace with Europe, he quitted the congress. Our army of the Danube, which was at first victorious, was surrounded by forces so much superior, that it was obliged to repass the Rhine. A long train of reverses began for us. Suwarow,

at the head of a Russian and Austrian army, invaded Italy, and passed the Adige at Eridan.

II. THE ALLIED REPUBLICS.

Switzerland, valiantly defended by Massena, was the only one of the allied republics that seconded us powerfully. She reaped the fruits of our success. The Grisons, delivered from the Austrian troops, expressed loudly their desire to be united with Helvetia; and that union, not nominal only, was real and absolute, and consolidated by the Helvetian confederation.

Less fortunate, the Italian republics struggled at the same time against their interior troubles, and the victories of Suwarrow. In the Cisalpine, the enemies of the directorial innovations had powerfully favoured the success of the coalition. At home, the misfortunes of Pius VI., torn from his throne and dragged to Florence, to Turin, to Parma, and at last to Briançon, kindled implacable hatreds. At Naples, the emissaries of Sicily, protected by the English fleets, had raised the Calabrians. Everything at once conspired against us. The Cisalpine directory evacuated Milan with our army.

III. THE ARMIES.

Upon the renewal of hostilities, we had invaded Tuscany; but it was not sufficient for our armies to have to defend themselves against enemies that were more numerous, and against the factions that divided our allies. It was necessary, also, at the same time, to struggle against the agents of our own ministry. Previous to his commanding in Italy, the minister of war, Scherer, misled by an unseasonable rigour, or carried away by the dilapidators of our finances, had let loose upon Italy agents, commissaries, inspectors, who, desiring to appropriate all the administrative powers to themselves, thwarted the generals, and carried disorder into our military administrations. Championet, fatigued with all their stratagems, and convinced that those commissaries put the army in danger, and irritated with reason at seeing them in his general quarters, giving orders opposed to his own, caused several of the ministerial agents to be arrested. He exceeded his powers without doubt, but the safety of the army justified his conduct. Deprived of his employment, and arrested by order of the directory, the council of war declared him innocent, and the only effect of that unreasonable severity, was the disorganization of our army, and discontenting it at the moment of combat. If the council of Vienna had dictated such measures, it could not have chosen a better time to afflict us. Macdonald replaced Championet. Massena took the command of all the armies of Germany.

Scherer, equally as unlucky a general as he had been an unlucky minister, was replaced too late by Joubert and Moreau. This last, after having retired in good order by the river of Genoa, waited for Macdonald to join him in Tuscany, and to endeavour by that junction to recall fortune beneath our standards. The Cisalpine evacuated; the rest of Italy compromised; Germany in the hands of Austria—such had been in a few weeks the combined results of the directorial inability and misfortune, terrible ordeal of governments as well as individuals.

IV. THE INTERIOR.

What an effect must a change so prompt and unexpected have produced in the interior? In the first three months the measures to complete the two hundred thousand conscripts, and to have them equipped by the municipalities, were decreed by urgency. We voted in the month of Pluviose for taxes to make up the deficit not proved of fifty-five millions; and after those taxes were accorded, they had the courage to affirm to us that the deficit was sixty-seven millions! Thus the last taxes, instead of making up the deficit, had increased it. We, however, resigned ourselves, and granted unanimously fresh funds. The tax on gates and windows was doubled: all gave way to the discussions on the finances. We desired only to have explained to us the cause of this eternal deficit, and I spoke to that effect as follows upon the sitting of the 28th of Floreal:—

“ I claim also the priority for the finances; but we must declare that there still exists a deficit, not because the legislative body has neglected to raise receipts to the level of the expenses, but because the vices of the administration have increased the expenses beyond the receipts. If the new deficit really exists, it has no right to exist. That distinction should be loudly published. But, however, whatever may be the cause of the disorder, it must be repaired. Cast your eyes upon our threatened frontiers, upon the Cisalpine overflowed with blood, and you will feel the necessity to make that lava vomited by the British volcano retrograde. Union is more necessary for us than ever, of men, of money, and above all, public spirit. To raise that public spirit, which can alone assure to us all the rest, let us render to the press her liberty; not that liberty which disfigures its license, but that which does not permit crime to envelop itself in darkness, but courageously brands it with the zeal of publicity. Bitter recollections may without doubt bring forth imprudent reproaches; but the wisdom and the concord of the powers will save the republic, and particular resentments will give way before the general interest. They would feel only that neither with us, or with

our allies, they must not extinguish generous sentiments, nor proclaim patriotic indifference as a supreme virtue. When we have given our armies the victorious attitude which they ought to have, then we shall know how, with a firm hand, to establish the equilibrium of the powers. In the mean time, do not fear to give new strength to the government; fear only to retard for a moment a remedy for the ills of the state."

All then was granted, but in vain: there was no longer either intelligence or harmony among them. The directory occupied itself with elections, of which the epoch was arrived in the midst of that crisis of reverses. It was also the time when they were to replace one of the directors. People's minds were in a state of excitement from the danger, and were inclined to violent measures. The elections appeared to be for the greatest part in favour of the Jacobins; and the government, seriously alarmed, was not afraid of employing every means to influence the choice of the electoral assemblies. The minister of the interior made a proclamation against the anarchists, which was violently attacked in the council of ancients. On our side, ministerial manœuvres against the independence of the elections were not spared, and it was upon this subject that the opposition became more violent than ever. To make up the number of votes, the electoral minorities were almost everywhere separated from the majorities, so that, in fact, there were two assemblies instead of one: and as it was for the chamber to pronounce upon the validity of the elections, by assuring the majority of the councils, they could make the electoral minorities triumph when they chose. Such a system was, unfortunately for the directory, its only chance of safety; and they failed in that plan of campaign in the interior, as they had done in their plans of campaign in Germany and Italy. The two councils defended with emulation the independence of choice. I was not the last to signalize myself, and I attacked in the following terms the elections of the department of the Escant:—

" Those elections might be approved of, if they could only reproach the college with a fault in the forms; but can they dare to call so the illegal arrestations, the arbitrary deposings, the menaces, the means of an influence so truly criminal? Those are not irregularities, but outrages against the nation in the days of the exercise of her sovereignty. If they call faults in the forms—those crimes which they denounce to us—all then is but a form, and the popular omnipotence, and the representative power, and the electoral right, are only vain illusions. I demand of the reporter of your commissions a precise explanation. Is it true that they have arrested the members of the bureau? Is it true that they have deposed the functionaries for having refused to vote at the will

of others? Is it true that they proposed to an elector that infamous compact, either to suffer a mandate of arrest, or to vote against his conscience? If these details are true, I cannot see in the elections in question the desire of the people. I see only crimes committed to stifle the public will beneath the particular will. Is not liberty the first character of elections? Where there is no liberty, the election cannot be valid, whatever may be the number of the majority."

Notwithstanding its efforts, the directory heard every day the names of its adversaries come out of the electoral urn. Jourdan, whose plan of campaign had been neutralized by the contradictory orders of the minister, Augereau, who had been recompensed for the eighteenth Fructidor by distrust and forgetfulness. The General Lamarque, and a great number of ancient conventionals, formed a part of the third of the new legislative body. The position of the government, not to render us worse than we were, stood in need of success for the time present, and a ministerial election for the morrow. But fortune granted them nothing. . . . And to complete the measure, that long comedy of the congress of Rastadt, which had only served to protect the preparations of the coalition, terminated by the most horrible tragedy. Our plenipotentiaries, Roberjot and Bonnier, were massacred by the Austrian hussars. Jean de Bry escaped, covered with wounds; and his letters raised the minds of the people to the highest pitch of exasperation. The cry of vengeance resounded at every sitting in the council. The most speedy means appeared the best. Order was forgotten, for that revolutionary ardour which sees only the end, and springs towards it by the shortest road, even amid precipices.

The chance fell upon the Director Rewbell to leave the directory. We named at the council of five hundred ten candidates to replace that director. The name of Sièyes, which we had placed at the head of the list, was marked by opinion as the hope of a constitutional reform, of which we all felt the inevitable necessity. The council of ancients, in fact, chose Sièyes; and at the same time, the only one of our ministers who had escaped from the cavern of Rastadt. Jean de Bry was named president of our council. Vengeance against the Austrians! Disgust of the directorial system! A vague confidence in the new director! Profound and too late regrets! The absence of Napoleon, of whom fame published constantly the new successes in Syria! Such were the sentiments of the nation at that period of distress.

The month of Praireal to the 15th of Messiaor, year 7. From the 21st of May to the 4th of July, 1799.

Success of Suwarrow—Troubles in the Interior—Dismissal of the Director Treilhard—Conspiracy in the Councils against the Directors Merlin and La Reveillere—Distinction between the Liberty of the Press, and the Independence of the Newspapers—My Report in the name of the Commission of Eleven—Permanence—Coup d'Etat of the 30th Praireal—Renewal of the Executive Power—The 30th Praireal compared with the 30th July—Without Popular Voting, there is no National Legitimacy.

I. THE POWERS.

THE resistance of Prussia to the suggestions of England, even after our first reverses, was attributed to the influence of Sièyes, whose acceptance was received with an almost universal satisfaction. The good which he had done when ambassador served as a pretext for malevolence, and they repeated, with perfidious concealment, that he was in perfect understanding with the King of Berlin. They were certain that there had been long and secret conferences between them; that the king had accompanied him for several hours beyond the gates of Potsdam. They talked of a rich portrait, and transformed into a mark of special favour a gift which it is the custom to give to ambassadors at their departure. The enemies of the republic felt, that as the hope of a political amelioration depended upon Sièyes, it was upon him that they must strike. The new director, therefore, was scarcely installed, but they had succeeded in throwing a mysterious suspicion upon his intelligences with Prussia, and they endeavoured to interpret thus the neutrality of that power.

Spain had united her fleet with ours; and that junction, which had given us for a moment the empire of the Mediterranean, obliged England to augment her maritime armaments.

The Russian Turkish fleet overran the Adriatic, and menaced the port of Ancona. Fortunately it had not any troops to disembark.

Suwarrow continued his triumphant march in Italy; he took the town of Milan, and a few days after, the fortress, as the town hoisted the Muscovite flag.

Upon the Rhine they fought before the fortress of Kell. The armies of the archduke extended to our frontiers. In Switzerland, Massena himself, after five days of obstinate, bloody, and glorious battles, was obliged to abandon Zurich to the Austrians, whose eagle also dominated over the summits of Mont St. Gothard.

II. THE ALLIED REPUBLICS.

The directorial constitution, imposed upon Helvetia by the proselytism of forms, which had been so fatal to us, had excited many resentments in several cantons, and above all at Zurich. Massena had more than once experienced the indolence and ill will of that important town; and our enemies had very few antipathies to encounter upon their entry. Several other cantons, and above all the high valleys, declared themselves openly against us. Eight thousand insurgents combated our columns on both sides of the Rhone. Defeated several times by the General Xaintrailles, they were not the less useful auxiliaries for the coalition.

There were no longer any republics in Italy, if we except that of Genoa, of which the retreat of our army prolonged the existence. The peasants also of Oneglia had risen in rebellion, and annoyed us very much by opposing the arrival of the provisions for our army. The priests were everywhere at the head of the revolted; the pope basely and uselessly dragged from one prison to another, how was it possible not to irritate the whole of the Catholic population?

The Consuls of Rome, the Directors of Naples and Milan, had taken refuge in our camp, their only asylum. The Cisalpine director, Adelasio, and many others belonging to the republic, were seen to pass to the service of Austria.

"*It is better,*" they observed in their proclamations, "*to obey a German archduke than a French commissary!*" In opposition to that conduct, we learned with great satisfaction that the General Lahoz, although repulsed, deposed, and arrested by the French government, for having protested against the innovations of Trouvé, had not hesitated to arm for the common cause in the moment of danger. He defended Bologna as long as it was possible against superior forces. Some time afterward, this general, overburdened with new persecutions, turned against us; but at the time in question, his honourable conduct, as well as the defection of Adelasio, was equally a reproach upon the politic of our directory; and upon the successive bad news, we trembled to see our destinies confined to the authors of so many disasters.

III. THE ARMIES.

Macdonald, after having left the kingdom of Naples and traversed the Roman states, dispersing upon his road swarms of insurgents, arrived in Tuscany. That province, generally peaceful, appeared to have changed its character. Cortona and Arrezzo vomited against us multitudes of armed and furious men: it was necessary to subdue them to assure our retreat, and to take possession of both those towns by main force. In the midst of so many obstacles, Macdonald drew

near to Moreau, who saw no other hope of safety against Suwarrow, except that junction of our two armies.

IV. THE INTERIOR.

Sièyes was at the Luxembourg; but four of the ancient directors were still there. . . . The opposition calling itself constitutional, had gained, since our reverses, a great number of partisans. The Jacobin opposition confounded itself with us. This movement, which at first we did not perceive, became evident afterward: the directory had lost the majority in the two councils. The new majority beheld Sièyes as favourably, as it beheld with an evil eye his four colleagues. We were desirous, however, of waiting to see the first effects of the admission of the statesman into that disgraced pentarchy. We resigned ourselves to fresh sacrifices: the land tax contributions were augmented a tenth. The most influential deputies drew towards a reconciliation with the government. We endeavoured to forget the past, that we might avoid a more disastrous future; and Jacobins, constitutionals, and directorials, were for several days confounded altogether in one single body.

I only knew the orator of the *tiers état* by his renown; and I hastened to see and hear him. I saw him continually, and I conceived so very high an esteem for him, that I hoped for the present salvation of the republic, and its legislative amelioration for the future, if such a man could induce his colleagues to follow his steps.

After some interviews I was completely devoted to him. That sentiment which I had felt at first but vaguely, became a sentiment of profound esteem. The legislative power and the executive power had been ill seated in the constitution of the year 3. There was no longer an equilibrium existing between those powers; we went from one masterpiece of policy to another. That conservative equilibrium was what we wanted to acquire to found a durable republic, armed equally against the excesses of the government and the representative chambers.

But the point in question was not of amelioration: the question was how to escape from Suwarrow. Unfortunately the ancient directors, envious of their new colleague, instead of aiding him, took a great pleasure in thwarting him. Not only they did not profit by the new resources that were accorded to them by the councils, but they even had the audacity to reply to our indulgence, by a report from the minister of the finances which justified the deficit, and attributed all the reverses to us, because we had not given enough. That report awakened the councils. We then formed the resolution to renew the directory without delay. We considered that without that masterpiece of policy, the republic had

everything to fear. We resolved, therefore, to begin by an individual attack, which at the same time should not deviate from legal order. Treilhard, one of the directors, had been named before a year had elapsed since he had left the legislative body. It was agreed to make use of that pretext of form, to turn out Treilhard, and give to Sièyes a colleague who partook of his opinions. We fixed our choice upon a deputy of the ancients, Roger Ducos; and the attack against the government a moment suspended, recommenced more regularly. This time it was combined in the two councils; it struck progressively, but with a certain blow.

Rewbell, upon quitting the directory, entered the council of ancients. Scherer, the ex-minister of war, was his relation. Rewbell had always looked up to him for support.

At the sitting of the 6th of Praireal, Dubois Dubay, in a report against the dilapidators, signalized Scherer for the public vengeance; he accused the directory of having caused the misfortunes of the state by the most disordinate and shameful administration. He proposed to pursue the dilapidators, whether they were covered with a senatorial robe, or whether they wore the mantle of a director. Rewbell considered himself personally attacked in that indication, and he protested against it with energy. They passed to the order of the day; but the attack resounded, and was repeated in the council of five hundred. They summoned the directory upon the accounts of Scherer, who demanded of his own accord to be judged, and surrendered himself prisoner. They replied as he merited, to the report of the minister of the finances, whose duplicity was evident. They demanded the accounts of the different ministers. Briot and Garreau declared that the directory had given funds for a representation of the opera of Adrian, where, said they, a triumphant Cæsar was shown at the moment when the Cæsar of Germany had just conquered our armies. The last accusation, frivolous as it was, showed to what a point opinion was irritated against the government; it was received, and the ministers were denounced one after another. A pamphlet full of invective was diffused everywhere with profusion; and as the censure upon the newspapers existed since the 18th Fructidor, they demanded the report of the law of censure, and they discussed the project of the commissions, of which I was a member, upon the abuse of the press. The directors could no longer dissimulate that the storm menaced them; the Luxembourg began to be deserted, except the quarter of Sièyes and that of Barras, where intrigue still retained some unquiet partisans.

The public galleries of the councils were filled with fresh spectators, who appeared to foresee an approaching tempest; they applauded, notwithstanding the rules, everything that was said against the government, and their clamours exer-

cised the patience of the president, and recalled the tumults of the convention.

The news which we received from the departments of the West, and the Midè, brought every day fresh aliments to the effervescence ; the reverses of our armies had encouraged unworthy Frenchmen, who did not blush to make a common cause with strangers. Numerous assassinations had taken place among the republicans, the public functionaries, and the purchasers of national domains. We addressed to the directory a message which resembled very strongly an accusation, in which were the following passages :—

“ The security of the nation is menaced from without. Six months back we were victorious everywhere. It is not proper for the French people to keep any longer an attitude of humility before other people. Within, public rumour informs us, that there exists a great fermentation. Before we proceed to take any measures, the council thinks it right, citizen directors, to demand information from you ; and we beg of you to grant it without further delay.”

The same day (17th Praireal) the council voted an address to the French people. That direct communication between the nation and its representatives, indicated sufficiently that they were diverging from the ordinary paths, and preparing opinion for the measures upon which they had already determined.

Three days afterward, the two councils celebrated a funeral festival in honour of our plenipotentiaries who were cowardly assassinated at Rastadt. The council of five hundred offered a touching peculiarity, Jean de Bry, the only one of the three victims who had escaped from death, occupied the armchair ; his discourse drew tears from every eye.

The directory, notwithstanding its inquietude, was ignorant of the plan adopted by its adversaries : it thought it beheld its loss certain if they took from it the dictatorship of the periodical papers. It collected all that remained to it of courage to defend itself upon that difficult ground. The few friends who had not abandoned them united with them. Bailleul published a very ingenious pamphlet to attenuate our accusations. At length both side sustained, during several sittings for and against the liberty of the press, an obstinate struggle, which began in the first days of the month, and which afterward we saw renewed twenty times in our representative assemblies. Among the orators, Creuzé Latouche for the censure, and Chenier against it, pronounced some eloquent harangues ; but Le Cointe Puyraveau was the most remarkable, and his words had shaken more than one opinion. Le Cointe Puyraveau had renewed the reasoning, that the friend of Mirabeau, our colleague Cabanis, had already demonstrated to our tribune. “ I make,” said he, (upon the sitting of the 9th of Praireal,) “ a great differ-

ence between the liberty of the press and the independence of the newspapers. Let us, I beg of you, perfectly comprehend that idea; it is essential for the developments into which I am about to enter. Let us look behind us: we shall see the liberty of the press profaned by men who took possession of it to dishonour it by the most licentious excesses; by confounding the independence of the newspapers with the right of expressing their thoughts. Observe what has passed, and you will see that a tolerated license has constantly been the presage of some great movement in the state. All the factions have signalized, by the audacity of the press, those excesses which they intended to commit. *Often have conspirators thus announced beforehand their projects.* Under the legislative, under the convention, a man whose name cannot be pronounced without blushing, demanded not the liberty of the press, but the independence of the newspapers, and who in his writings committed the most violent excesses. It was in vain that by decree he was declared insane—in vain that he appeared before the tribunal. The voice of calumny was the strongest; the firmest republicans were the victims, and the friends of Marat himself finished by dreading the envenomed shafts of his pen. I must recall to your minds what the liberty of the newspapers has done since:—re-established in its rights, it began by caressing the convention which had given it life, and finished by provoking its destruction. It was that which armed the factions of Vendémiaire; it was the most terrible arm of the reactors. It brought the horrors of the revolutionary government, and afterward the horrors of the reaction. But so many excesses brought at last their own remedy; the 18th of Fructidor came and shone upon France. The papers were subdued, and then the calm was established; the passions are calmed. We have had no more struggles, no more agitations."

Some voices called out, "No more liberty," and Le Cointe Puyraveau replied with warmth, "Representatives, you desire liberty, but our enemies desire latitude. Have they not already announced that even this discussion will be the signal of trouble and disorder? I may perhaps deceive myself, but the machinations of the journalists, who think to take you unawares, may prove fatal, except you baffle them. When we suffer reverses, when all the public enemies dispute with us, ought we to place a powerful arm in their hands? If you revoke the law of the nineteenth Fructidor, at the same moment the forty-four trumpets of royalism that were broken at that period will again resound their fatal concerts. You will have a quantity of newspapers sold to royalism, others to the exaggerated party whose hopes we do not certainly desire to excite. Strangers will have theirs, and will breathe among us discords, suspicion, and party

spirit. You talk of dilapidators. . . . But those dilapidators have got gold ; and can you doubt that with gold they will not find journalists disposed to walk in the path they choose to trace ? A greater evil awaits us, if the independence of the newspapers is re-established ; *we shall behold everywhere an erroneous opinion formed, which they will tell us is the opinion of the majority !* Thus the Jacobins, the mother societies, the adopted societies, will set themselves up as the organs of public opinion. It is not public opinion that will inform you of the independence of the newspapers—you will only see traced the opinion of parties."

Thus spoke one of the most sincere republicans. Many reasonable people thought like Le Cointe and Cabanis. It was only in a time of calm, they said, that a good citizen could weaken the government. The periodical papers ought to be considered not as books, but like the preachings in the streets : their dependance cannot prejudice the propagation of the true public opinion, of which the representatives of the people are the only authorized organs ; for never had any person thought of submitting to the censure the account exactly rendered of all the speeches pronounced at the legislative tribunes. Those speeches were not subject to the censure ; the dependance of the papers puts limits only to the political preachings of individuals not *authorized by the people*, and who might be neither citizens nor Frenchmen, for nothing could prevent a foreign minister from creating and sustaining a hundred newspapers which might preach in every public place the overthrow of our laws, and which could not be punished until after it had done an evil which would be reproduced the next day. The tardy chastisement of the incendiary would not have prevented the fire.

All these reasons could not stop us. We replied that the newspapers did not express an erroneous public opinion, except in those melancholy times of censure, where the press repeats only, under a thousand different forms, the lesson of the minister. A liberal paper, not paid, not being able to sustain itself but by the adhesion of a great number of subscribers, represents the true opinion of a great number of citizens ; and the reunion of all the collective opinions, if it is not the public opinion, is at least that which approaches the nearest after the universal voting. As for the chastisement after the blow, it will not prevent the evil from having produced its effect. I replied that the efficacy of the penalties that we proposed must assure all the world that our project of law was almost equivalent to the censure, and put an end to the abuses ; or to calm the alarms of the citizens, it was right to give them the means of expressing their thoughts—that the opinion of the national tribunes was not sufficient for a free people, since even the conduct and the discourse of the deputies was submitted to the judgment, no

only of their constituents, but to that of every Frenchman, whether they were electors or not.

These answers were not without force in theory. The previous censure excluded all political liberty ; and when one is reduced to have recourse to that fatal weapon we must be very near to a state of siege ; an imminent peril can alone justify those two measures. But theory apart, on which side was the plain dealing in our discussion ? Will it be thought that our repressive laws, substituted for the censure, satisfied the directorial authority. Can we suppose that the penalties proposed in our project were sufficient ? No, certainly not. We felt, on the contrary, that our law would be illusory, and that was the reason it suited us. We wished to break the executive power which was losing the republic, and it was necessary for us to disarm a power which was our enemy, and that we had condemned. The passion of the moment overbalanced in our minds the reasons of our adversaries ; and the directory was deprived, in those critical days, of the preventive inspection of the papers ; that example proves that an absolute opinion must sometimes give way in practice to a relative opinion. *I say must give way*, because I voted then as I should vote now under the same circumstances. We acted like good citizens in destroying the government that destroyed us ; but if that government had been good, our conduct would have been that of enemies of the people. These details may perhaps not be useless in aiding to judge public men in the time of a revolutionary crisis. He who has navigated in the storm, is better able to judge how to guide the vessel during those hours when life is at stake. The measures, therefore, taken in France, after the affair of the horrible infernal machine, (except the attack against the jury which nothing can excuse,) the law, which, without re-establishing the censure, pronounced against the license of the periodical papers exceeding great penalties of repression, appeared to me to be wise, suitable, and patriotic, and completely justified by the events : the censure being out of the question, the penalties should be sufficiently strong not to be illusory. They would have taken, under the same circumstances, measures at least equally as severe in a republic. The task of governments is not so easy in these days that they should be judged without a little indulgence, if they do not wish to overturn it.

Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco. The law of the censure abolished, they proceeded without interruption to the discussion of the project of repression that we had presented. We desired a prompt decision. Our ulterior projects were known to above a hundred members of the two councils, and might have been revealed by the slightest indiscretion ; and the directory disposed of numerous troops. We pressed therefore for the voting of the new law ; but an

unforeseen incident arrived to retard its adoption. Carrère, deputy of the Rhone, proposed, in the course of the debate, several measures which might have made us lose time; he demanded the formation of a republican jury of censure; the diminution of the stamp duty upon the newspapers; the prohibition of anonymous writings, &c. Fortunately that orator, in signalizing the indolence of public opinion, had exaggerated even to the point of affirming that the murders of Rastadt had excited only a very feeble indignation. I profited (upon the sitting of the 22d Praireal) by the discontent which that assertion had raised in the chamber to see only that, in the discourse of Carrère, which would repulse entirely all his propositions—I spoke as follows:

“I have just heard a sentence from the last speaker which every one of us is ready to deny. It has excited in this assembly an agitation which still continues. . . Where, then, has it been found that the assassinations at Rastadt have excited only a feeble indignation in France? That assertion is injurious—it is false. (A unanimous cry of ‘Yes! yes!’)

“What then! have you not heard the cries of vengeance resound again from one end of the republic to the other, and which are become the song of departure of our youthful defenders? Do you not perceive on every side the striking marks of zeal that popular indignation has excited? Recall, then, the generous accents of that immense crowd which covered the Champ de Mars, and shed tears upon the tombs of our ministers. What sentiments did you read in their countenances? What oaths have you heard? France indifferent to the crime of Rastadt? Already our armies, electrified by that fatal news, have spread terror amid the ranks of our enemies. From the bottom of the Helvetian valleys, to the summit of the Apennines, one single cry has been heard. The shades of the victims started—the murderers trembled—that terrible cry, so often repeated in this assembly and throughout every part of the republic, must again answer for us here: Vengeance, vengeance upon the assassins!”

The whole assembly rose repeating my last words. The galleries burst forth with reiterated acclamations; and the propositions of our colleague had not any result.

Sièyes had caused the General Joubert to be named to the command of Paris. It was necessary to act. A pamphlet had dared to aver that it was not the Russians of Suwarrow who were to be feared, but the Russians of the councils. . . They decided to attack the election of the Director Treilhard the next day, and above all to declare itself in permanence.

The directory had not yet answered the message of the 17th Prairial, where we demanded an account of our situation, interior and exterior. Poulain Grandpré, at the sitting of the 29th, proposed to send a second message more per-

emptory, which should terminate by the terrible declaration that the council would remain in permanence until the answer of the government. That measure was carried by a great majority. The council of ancients followed our example. The directory replied to us instantly, that it would put itself, like us, in permanence, and that we should receive the next day all the information that we demanded upon the state of the republic. It was accepting our challenge, but all the parts were distributed; but instead of adjourning till the next day, we continued our sitting all the night. Bergasse came to announce at the tribune the election of Treilhard, and he had not much trouble to convince us of the defects in the form! We were convinced beforehand. . . . Scarcely would they listen to a courageous voice in favour of Treilhard. His election was annulled after two consecutive readings. At midnight the council of ancients during the sitting confirmed our resolution. At near four o'clock in the morning they suspended the legislative sittings till ten o'clock.

The next day, the message of the directory upon the situation of affairs, read at the tribune of the five hundred, was listened to with a sullen silence, and sent to the united commissions. We proceeded to the nomination of ten candidates to take the place of Treilhard. From that list, the ancients chose the Citizen Gohier, ex-minister of justice, who had the advantage, by some voices, of Roger Ducos. Thus was the first part of the plan that had been agreed upon accomplished.

The 30th Praireal, Bertrand du Calvados pronounced against the message of the directory a powerful philippic of logic and passionate movements.

"What then? the directory thinks to justify itself in accusing the legislative body and in offering it a generous pardon. What an excess of audacity, perfidy, and dishonesty! What!—when in the arsenal of Paris alone, a hundred and thirty-three thousand guns were sold at twenty sous a piece, when they were worth at the least twenty francs . . . And it is the legislative body whom they accuse for the want of arms! What then?—the ministerial reports fixed the effective of our armies at 437,000 men, when at the same time they did not amount to 300,000: and they dare complain of the penury of the treasury! What!—because we have rejected the odious tax upon salt, and have replaced it by eighty-eight millions of new resources, they dare to reproach us with the deficit! Was it us who named your Rapinat, your Trouvé, your Scherer? And you talk of pardoning us, instead of imploring for yourselves the generosity and commiseration of the French people! You have not placed in judgment the authors of your reverses; and you have dragged before the tribunals the chiefs who have

gained our victories! You propose to us a reunion! And I propose to you to reflect, if you can still preserve your functions. You have no longer our confidence: you can no longer do any good but in retiring."

Boulai de la Meurthe, succeeding to Bertrand, fixed more firmly what they desired. He nominally accused the Directors Merlin and La Reveillère, and declared that those two men must leave the Luxembourg to establish union in the executive power, and that they should be forced if they refused. He proposed to name a special commission of nine members charged to present all the measures that circumstances might require. The General Jourdan caused two more members to be added to that extraordinary commission, which was composed of Boulai de la Meurthe, Bergoing, François de Nantes, Talot, Petiet, Joubert de Chérault, Quirot, Poullain, Grandpré, Augereau, Jourdan, and myself.

We had scarcely been named, when the demissions of the Directors Merlin and La Reveillère were brought to us. The council formed immediately two decuple lists for the two vacant places; and the General Moulins, and the friend of Sièyes, Roger Ducos, completed the new government. Barras, among the ancient directors, was the only one that remained.

The government was thus renewed the 30th of Praireal, without any violent struggle, thanks to the docility of our adversaries, who yielded to the threat of an accusation. The first Messidor I made, in the name of the commissioners of the eleven, the following report:—

"Representatives of the people—Struck with the misfortunes of the country, you demanded of the executive directory, in your message of the 17th Praireal, what causes had brought the interior and the exterior to the deplorable state in which you find it at this present moment. Upon the 24th Praireal, you declared that you would remain in permanence until the arrival of the answer of the directory; and it was the determination of each of us to remain as long as it was necessary for the welfare of the republic. By that declaration of permanence, you have called upon you the attention of every Frenchman: you have constituted yourselves more particularly in the presence of the people.

"For if the people never lose sight of their representatives, it is chiefly upon those decisive occasions when their affections repose upon their chiefs. You have all felt what duties that solemn permanence imposes on you, and you will, by fulfilling it, answer the expectations of every citizen.

"To answer that expectation, it is requisite to know and destroy the evils which afflict the country. The executive power, in its message of the 29th, indicated the waste of the treasure, and demanded of you fresh resources of finances as the only remedy. The deficiency of funds and credit can

only be imputed to the legislative body. That artful indication has pointed you out to the nation as the authors of the public misfortunes; it has thrown upon you the defeats of our armies and the disorders of the interior; it has renewed the perfidious insinuations so many times directed against you during the servitude of the press.

"Such are the painful reflections which result from the message of the 29th Praireal—that message promises a second more precise. Without doubt, the respective dignity and union of the first authorities, re-established by you, must assure you a more satisfactory answer, and more sincere information. The fatal impression of the first message may, notwithstanding, alter the truth. We must demonstrate the falsity; we owe it to France, to the armies, and to ourselves.

"The word *deficit* is a veil with which they obstinately cover the picture of all the errors. It is in vain that they have endeavoured to thicken this officious veil. It has not deceived your solicitude; they have in vain attempted to give a change to the national indignation.

"You have observed, representatives of the people, with what obstinacy they have persisted, even to this moment, upon the deficit as the cause of all our misfortunes. We have no occasion certainly to produce here the calculations so often repeated by our commissions of the finances. Those calculations have remained without an answer. What can there be in common, in fact, between this pretended deficit, demonstrated false so many times, with the reverses brought on by the most complete inability, by the most culpable indifference? If the authors of that strange message had better consulted facts, they would at least, in default of justifying themselves, have avoided the reproach of dishonesty that every citizen has a right to accuse them with. Up to this moment a deficit cannot have existed in the expenses of the war, since the open credit to the minister of war is far from being exhausted. The observations in the message are then chimerical; they will appear far more chimerical if we compare them with what follows. We can affirm, with the confidence of experience, that an army, a standing army, of four hundred thousand men, ought not to cost more than two hundred and eighty millions, comprising all materials; that is to say, seven hundred francs a year for a man. The first eight months of the year 7 ought not to consume but the two thirds of that sum, or one hundred and eighty-seven millions, by calculating the effective number of our armies at four hundred thousand men, and the individual expenses at seven hundred francs—the sum paid by the directory in its last demand—as the minister Scherer, upon the first of Vendémiaire, declared the state of the army at two hundred and seventy-five thousand men, and the directory, after its last

message, had decreed, up to the 5th of Praireal, two hundred and forty-five millions for the expenses of the war. The same result is consigned in the statements remitted by the minister of war to our Colleague Genissieux.

"During the first eight months of that year, the government has expended fifty-eight millions more (two hundred and forty-five, instead of one hundred and eighty-seven) than was necessary for an army of four hundred thousand men! and our army was only two hundred and seventy-five thousand! It is not then the insufficiency of the funds which caused the failure of all the military operations.

"The different reports of your commissions of the finances have already shown that the receipts ought to be nearly upon a level with the expenses. The delays in collecting cannot be attributed to the non-performance of the existing laws, and it is the directory alone that is responsible for the non-performance of those laws. Ought the legislative body to vote another hundred millions, when the millions that were voted were not paid in consequence of the vices of the administration. New taxes would only have increased the deficiency.

"On the other hand, we have passed very lightly over the contributions of the conquered countries; they have scarcely figured in the picture of our resources.

"No, representatives of the people, it is not the deficit which has caused the misfortunes of the state: it is the system that has been followed by the executive power for this last year; that system has been the most powerful auxiliary of the coalition—it has prepared the successes. It is to that we owe the disorganization of our armies, the pillage and overthrow of the allied republics, and the momentary weakening of the energies of the republic.

"Our armies! surprised but not vanquished; the destitution in which they were left could alone have induced them to retreat. Upon the eve of battle, they were deprived of all that could assure their success. They have not been recruited. Their administration has been destroyed; and the dilapidations encouraged and unpunished, they have dared to attempt even our arsenals.

"Since the opening of the session, these abuses have attracted your attention; but your good intentions have been paralyzed. The directory has daily abused the immense authority that the 18th of Fructidor left in its hands. It has embraced, and obstinately followed, an odious system, with a view of maintaining itself out of the constitutional line, into which it would not re-enter again.

"It has without shame applied the name of anarchists to all the republicans. Braving all the counsels of the legislative body, it has always marched without looking behind it

—complaisance, flattery, and intrigue, have sustained it in its march. Where ought it to have terminated?

“After the disorganization of the armies, nothing could have been more fatal than the deposing of the republicans. That plan prepared with *sang froid*, and despotically executed, produces discouragement; the friends of liberty, treated without discretion, looked upon with distrust, quit everywhere the reins of the administration: revolutionary indifference is described and sought after as the first of civic virtues, and men who were too much gifted with that virtue, replace in all our municipalities the chosen of the people.

“The abasement of the legislative body itself would have been accomplished a long time since by the official papers, if it had been as easy to pervert opinion as to abuse the laws. The usurpation of the directory upon the independence of the popular elections, is still more culpable than the audacity of the privileged press. The right of electing is the only one which the sovereign people reserved in its days of Comitia: to depose a citizen, because he does not exercise this supreme right to the pleasure of the superior authority, is an absolute sacrilege.

“After having abjured the yoke of a king, after having broken so many sceptres, could the citizens and the warriors patiently support the domination of all the subaltern agents, who would make a sport of the civil liberty of individuals as they would with the political liberty of nations? Those petty tyrants treated our allies like their slaves. Italy, Helvetia, were become their domains. At Milan, they held beds of justice. Every day brought a revolution where the rights acquired were sacrificed to the most capricious aristocracy. They changed thus into regrets and plots the affection and gratitude of the people who were enfranchised by our arms. It was known that some of those simple men, who were our elders in liberty, desired slavery even in preference. Unworthy chains have charged the hands of Championnet. In short, the fruits of our victories were momentarily lost for the republic. The cries of the victims immolated by Suwarow upon our frontiers, those of the good citizens oppressed in the interior, must they always find us insensible? No, the misfortunes of the oppressed shall be repaired, the shades of the victims avenged.

“A new career opens before you;—your permanence will bring a more prosperous day; the directory of the republic regenerate a more brilliant destiny; the legislative body, in regaining the first place in the state, will second, with all its power, the well-directed efforts of the public administration; an unalterable concord will assure us new triumphs. The hands of those who are accustomed to conquer, will seize the sword of command, and the republican forces will recover the strength it ought never to have lost.

"We are waiting for a message from the directory, which is fortunately renewed; it will be, without doubt, conformable to the truth and the wishes of all good citizens. Let all uneasiness cease from to-day; let us deliver ourselves up with confidence to those great, ardent, and generous ideas which caused our hearts to beat in the first days of the revolution. If royalism has conceived some hopes, they will be deceptive—they will be for ever lost, at the aspect of our concord and energy. The changes which you have accomplished are not very striking, but they will possess their place in history, and their influence in Europe: they have not cost the shedding of blood—they have not caused tears to flow. The change of opinion has produced them without a struggle. They will give strength to our social compact, and will find their consecration in the unanimous consent of all the friends of the republic. Your commission advises to wait in permanence the message of the new directory."

That proposition was decreed, as well as the impression of the speech, in twelve copies. The Deputy Arena desired that it might be sent into all the departments and to the armies: but I immediately announced to the council that my report was only a preparatory work, and that the commission of eleven occupied itself with an address to the French people, which would not be long before it would be submitted to them.

The first days of Messidor passed without the directory sending the message that we expected. Sièyes and his two new colleagues were scarcely installed. Gohier had only been a few days. Barras in those first days left us to act, and thought only of maintaining himself in place. A delay which found its excuse under the circumstances, prolonged the permanence of the councils and the duration of the commission of eleven. The discontented, then, directed all their efforts against the commission; they pretended to be uneasy at the extraordinary power which was confided to us; they compared us to the famous committee of public safety. As nothing could be more false than those insinuations, François de Nantes was charged to submit to the council several measures against the divisions of the electoral assemblies, and he announced that in the week the commission would propose a project of law and a project of address, and that it would itself demand its dissolution and the end of the permanence. The General Jourdan made a report upon the recruiting of the armies. Filled with confidence in the wisdom of Sièyes, we were more desirous than our adversaries to see our mission terminated. The measures proposed by François de Nantes and Jourdan being threatened with adjournment, I insisted, in the following terms, (sitting of the 7th of Messidor,) for their prompt discussion:—

"There is not one among us but has known the crisis of

the revolution, and who does not know how to appreciate the value of an impulse, and judge how far it may be useful, and where it might begin to be dangerous. The occasion of doing good, once lost, may never return. There are, in the city as in the field of battle, precious moments which it is not easy to find again. A retard is sometimes irreparable. One single will animates at this moment all the friends of the republic. Let us beware of weakening their energy by an unseasonable moderation. If you go back to find mental laws; if you want to combine all the means of execution before you promulgate those salutary principles which we have presented, you alienate, perhaps, the public confidence, without which you can do nothing.

"I do not accuse the intentions of any one; but what is there to fear from the adoption of the measures proposed? Will the declaration be dangerous which informs our generals and our soldiers that you are about to enfranchise them from a tyranny even more shameful than that of the ancient regime? Will it be dangerous to inform the republicans who are persecuted, that in future they may unite and oppose their imposing masses to the scattered bands of their assassins, of those brigands, the bleeding leprosy of the departments of the East and the South? Will it be dangerous to suspend the erasing of those emigrants who enter under false certificates, obtained and bought in those municipalities where the spirit of the counter revolution ferments in secret.

"What danger do you find after all—that it is no longer the members of the executive power, but a solemn law, which bestows arms as national recompenses?

"We have just had a proof that opinion raises and destroys at her will all powers. Seize then, representatives of the people, upon that all-powerful lever, and direct it towards the public good. If the laws which we present to you are still retarded for some days, the effects of the salutary action that the state has just experienced may escape you. I demand to move the previous question upon all the references, and the discussion instantly of the projects of the commission."

The council adopted my proposition unanimously. The projects were converted into laws. They confirmed even an article of the law of the 19th Fructidor, which gave to the executive power the right of transporting the refractory priests. Transport without judgment! They thought they could not yet deprive the directory of that dictatorship without compromising the public safety. I opposed this revolutionary measure extending against all the priests. It was applied only to the refractory priests.

Two days afterward we at length received a message from the new directory. I opposed against its being communicated to us in a secret committee. The reading of it

in public produced an excellent effect; it was the recapitulation of the faults of the fallen power without reserve, and the inevitable demand of men and money.(9)

Jourdan, soon after the reading of the message, proposed to put in activity all classes of conscripts, and to raise a loan of a hundred millions for the expenses of the war.(10)

François de Nantes presented the project of an address to the French.(11) All was unanimously approved of. The commission of eleven was declared dissolved. During the sitting the council of ancients confirmed all our resolutions; the permanence of the legislative body was terminated—and all re-entered into constitutional order.

Such was the revolution of the 30th Praireal; it had some resemblance with that of 1830. Both of them had the same result of violently changing the executive power. Both one and the other were accomplished by the legislative body. Neither one nor the other was submitted to the universal voting; they had, nevertheless, the general consent. The resignations were given by the directors equally as freely as those of Charles Dix and the Duke d'Angouleme. In short, the resignation of the directory, as well as that of the elder branch of the Bourbons, was incomplete. One of the five directors did not renounce, and one of the princes of the elder branch did not renounce, and could not, because he was a minor. But these resemblances are accompanied by differences far more remarkable, which we will examine hereafter by comparing the revolution of Brumaire with all those which we have had precede and succeed it during half a century.

What are we to conclude, in the mean time, from those resemblances that we have remarked?

1st. The 30th Praireal and the 30th of July have produced two governments without a positive right, because they were not confirmed by the free and universal voting of the nation, for which no right whatever can make up the deficiency entirely.

2d. The directory elected on the 30th of Praireal, not having known how to preserve its power of *de facto*, and not having the right, its fall upon the 18th Brumaire was legitimate, even before three millions of votes had approved of it.

3d. His majesty the King of the French can and ought to terminate the revolution of July, by the free and universal vote of the nation. He can, for he reigns in peace and with undisputed approbation. He ought, for that popular consecration would fortify his throne. It would be as useful to his family as to France. It would cleanse the great nation from the affront of not having been consulted upon the change of her dynasty; for if, since 1830, and notwithstanding the excessive rigours, the present government has merited the praises of every impartial man, for having known how

to preserve internal and external peace, it is not the less evident to every eye, that at this moment the French throne is not yet seated, but between the *quasi* legitimacy of divine right, and the *quasi* legitimacy of the popular right. Its power has not been consecrated, either by the elevation upon the shield, which was the universal suffrage of the ancient Franks—or by the hereditary coronation, the legitimacy of past times—or by the national vote, the legitimacy of new times.

If immediately after the 30th of July they receded before a universal voting—that is explained by reasons that our cotemporaries know, and which are useless to mention. But at this time, after five years of exterior peace and material amelioration, now that the factions are vanquished or rendered powerless, what is there to fear in legitimating? Is France descended so low that they may always dispense with her vote? If the new government of our fine country would at length submit itself to the popular voting, it would confirm and strengthen itself; and all would then surround with conviction the elect of the people. If, on the contrary, he refuses to render homage to that sovereign whom in our age it is vain to disown. . . . I wish to deceive myself—but the abyss of a revolution is inevitably about to open before us; and the counsellors of the crown, who do not endeavour to engage it to bend before that popular sovereignty, assume upon their own heads all the responsibility of the struggles which threaten every government that is ill seated. To persist in not consulting France, would be showing that they do not regard the 30th of July as a revolution, but as a personal catastrophe. Either the three days are really glorious, because they overturned the government of divine right, to raise in its place a government of popular right; because for a charter granted by the king, they have substituted a charter consented to by the king, and proposed by the legislative chambers. The ordinances were only the occasion of that revolution of principles; and to make it complete, it should be sanctioned by the sovereign people, whose power it acknowledged in raising the banner of 1789, and 1791, of the republic, of the consulate, and the empire.

In expressing myself thus, without any reserve, in saying all I think upon the actual constitution of my beloved country, they will perhaps ask me how, with that decided opinion, I insist without ceasing upon my re-entry into France;—how I can demand to live under the charter which created the throne of the King of the French? . . . My answer will be as frank as my faith in the absolute sovereignty of the universal voting is decided and profound. I desire to re-enter France as a citizen subject to the actual laws of my country, because those laws, such as they have been made by the legislative assemblies, although not sanctified by the popular

baptism, offer, nevertheless, a social state, which, without being perfect, appears to me to be preferable to many others, and above all, preferable to exile; because the present royal government, created and sustained by the unanimous suffrages of several legislative chambers, possesses in consequence the votes of the two hundred thousand electors, who have at this moment in France the legal privilege of political right; because that state of things, which is neither the best nor the worst, if agreeable to the French people, (as is demonstrated by the numerous adhesions and the tacit consent of all,) it does not belong to a simple citizen to refuse obedience to the laws which his country approves of, or finds suitable. But that obedience does not carry with it the conviction that those laws are invested with popular legitimacy. It does not oblige one to believe that the vote of the deputies of two hundred thousand electors, is equal to the vote of several millions of citizens. It does not in the least prevent them from desiring that the universal suffrage of which those laws are deficient should be given to them. Let them no longer delay that national sanction; it would, on the contrary, be showing that they sincerely desire the confirmation and the amelioration of those laws of the country, beneath whose ægis they desire at least to take shelter, and certainly a rational faith, ardent and exclusive in the *popular sovereignty formed by the suffrage of all*, may be expressed without temerity by him, who, excluded from the empire by that same universal suffrage, acknowledged and revered in former days that supreme power which threw him out of his family, as he acknowledges it at this moment, while he regrets that the sacred dogma is still wanting to the government of his country.

15th Messidor, 1st Fructidor, year 7. From the 4th of July to the 18th of August, 1799.

Opposition against the new Directory—Decree of Accusation of the Ancient Directors rejected—My speech against the Jacobin reaction—Attacks of the Jacobin Press against Sièyes and myself—Club of the Manège ; its expulsion from that place—Censure of the Newspapers suppressed—Excesses of the Newspapers, Pamphlets, Placards, &c.—Disorders caused by the Clubs—Revolutionary Law of the Hostages—Forced Loan—Speech of Sièyes against the Jacobins—I defend the General Lefebvre—Answers to M. Thiers.

I. THE POWERS.

THE Turkish Russian fleet attacked again the port of Ancona ; but, repulsed from the shore, it continued without a rival to dominate the Adriatic.

The victories of the Austrian Russians did not cease in Italy. Masters of Turin, they besieged the citadel. The Piedmontese artillery, soldiers whom they had enrolled with our troops, hastened by their insubordination the loss of that strong place. Suwarow had, in the meantime, advanced as far as the Trebbia. After three days of the most obstinate and bloody battles, he forced our columns to retire into Tuscany, where he was not long before he followed them. He took possession of Tuscany. Mantua itself capitulated. Our only compensation for so many reverses was the junction of the armies of Macdonald and Moreau, which, re-enforced, though too slowly, by some thousands of conscripts, possessed in the Genoese states a good defensive line.

A new Russian army, in the pay of England, arrived at Prague. That increase of force might have proved fatal to us, if the first misintelligence between Austria and Suwarow had not broken out, and if Massena had not opposed to all those attacks an impregnable barrier.

II. THE ALLIED REPUBLICS.

OUR partisans diminished every day in Helvetia. Encouraged by the success of the co-allies, the faction, discontented with the reforms which we had imposed, occupied itself with their revision.

The numerous friends of the house of Orange no longer dissimulated their hopes. Troubles broke out in several parts of the Batavian republic. The government of that republic placed all its troops under the command of a French general ; and Brune united thus all the means of de-

fence. That unity of direction was still more necessary, as the grand expedition, prepared upon the British coasts, appeared to threaten Holland.

We had still at Rome and Naples some fortresses. The republicans of Naples struggled for some days; but soon the terrible Cardinal Ruffo, the blood-stained precursor of an irritated master, came to exercise his fury in the beauteous Parthenope, at the head of his bands of Calabrese brigands. Long will the memory be preserved of the revolutionary vengeance of the court of Sicily. The king returned in triumph in the English fleet, and re-entered his capital in the midst of executions.

III. THE ARMIES.

THE junction of our two armies of Italy was scarcely completed, when Joubert arrived to command them. Championnet placed himself upon the Alps at the head of a third army. Moreau returned to the accustomed theatre of his victories. Massena left him the army of the Danube, and consecrated himself entirely to the army of Helvetia. The conscripts of whom we had decreed the raising, repaired from every part of the frontiers; they replaced also, as rapidly as they could, the materials which the preceding administration had, without shame, caused to be sold at the most scandalously low prices; but that which is dissipated in a moment cannot, unfortunately, be replaced so quickly.

The winds of Egypt for several months past had brought us only the sounds of victory; but, as if every thing at the same time conspired against us, the news from Egypt brought us the account of the raising of the siege of St. Jean d'Acre. Never was France more in need of union and firmness—never did a new government take reins in the midst of so many perils.

IV. THE INTERIOR.

WE had made the revolution of the 30th Praireal to re-establish the union between the powers, so necessary in great dangers. In rejecting three directors before the time prescribed by the law, we hoped to gather the fruit of that new violation of constitutional order; yet scarcely, however, had some weeks elapsed but we found ourselves in the same confusion. We had chosen two directors, Gohier and Moulins, private men without reproach, but public men without talent, and, what was worse than all, who had no desire to second Sièyes, in whom we had placed our hopes of a better government. They partook, on the contrary, of the exaggerated opinion. Barras thus found himself between two factions equal in number and his adhesion de-

cided the majority. Sièyes was obliged to ally himself with him in spite of his repugnance. He consented to name minister of the police one of the creatures of Barras, the famous Fouché de Nantes. Fortunately that ancient conventional, who well knew the Jacobins, thought it useful to his interest at that moment to combat them. He decided Barras to unite with Sièyes and Roger Ducos; but that majority, depending upon a man like Barras, did not prevent the directory from being equally as weak as it was before the last crisis. The friends of the fallen government drew towards Barras, who was the last wreck of it. The two oppositions, as usual, united to overturn it, and it was disunited the day after the combat. The constitutionals rallied round Sièyes, while the Jacobins, from the danger of the state, had returned to their customary exaltation, and no longer saw the welfare of the country in the executive power so unfortunately regenerated. They saw it only in revolutionary expedients, and in the concentration of all the political action in the bosom of the legislative body. They had for two of their directors the minister of war, Bernadotte, and the General Marbot, commandant of Paris. If we add to those two names those of Jourdan, Augereau, and Lamarque, members of our council, the Jacobins could reckon in their ranks five of the best generals in the republic.

That reunion of great military renown balanced in that party the inferiority of the number. Sièyes felt that it was necessary to separate, as much as possible, that formidable reunion; and they resolved, therefore, to deprive Bernadotte, the minister of war, of his place. They began by depriving Marbot of the command of Paris, and the brave General Lefebvre, incapable of all intrigue, was his successor. The new aspect of the council was not long in manifesting itself clearly; they began by attacking the ancient directors and the ex-minister Scherer. They demanded for them to be placed in accusation; but the addresses were not wanting; they poured in from all quarters. In what age, and in what country, has the conqueror been wanting in flatterers, and the vanquished in outrages? The accusations increased in violence one after the other. Rewbell, who, for a year past, had sat with the ancients—Treilhard, whom we had expelled by the chicane of an attorney—Merlin and La Reveillère, whose abdication had been celebrated as a meritorious sacrifice, for which they had promised to recompense them, were all four of them equally pursued. Rewbell defended himself at the council of ancients with a noble firmness; this council, where the Jacobin party scarcely existed, listened to Rewbell with an encouraging calmness. But among us the attacks were sharper; they wanted, above all, to obtain a special com-

mission to establish in the council a centre of reaction against the accused. We repulsed that attempt, and had all the denunciations sent back to the government; but it is so easy to persuade a numerous assembly to adopt measures which flatter its omnipotence, that a few days after they named a commission of five members, to whom they sent the account of the accusations.

Encouraged by this success against the fallen power, the Jacobins tried an attack against the actual power. The deputy Briot complained of the retard of the informations that were demanded of the directory.—“We expect,” said they, “the lease of the salt-springs of the East: it requires but a quarter of an hour to send it us, and we cannot obtain it. Other messages have also remained without an answer. I propose to name a commission to seek after all the messages addressed to no purpose to the executive power, and those which it may be necessary still to address to it. You shudder at the recital of the crimes committed in Italy. You will learn that, although you pay the army entirely, in the meantime the allied republics pay the greater part of that army.”

All this was but too true; but that was not a reason to establish in the bosom of the council a committee of inquiry, and to take from the directory the functions which belonged to it, to give it in charge to a committee; it was acting precisely as if we had not changed the government. Notwithstanding all, however, the commission was named. Some days after it made a report, in which it specified precisely the chief points of accusation of the ancient directors, and proposed to discuss it in a secret committee: that discussion continued during several sittings. The second chief accusation was written down as follows:—

“For having transported to the deserts of Arabia forty thousand of the choicest men of our armies, the General Bonaparte, and with him the flower of our literati, of our men of letters, and our artists.”(12)

The act of accusation fell evidently upon Barras, as well as upon his ancient colleagues, and it tended also to disorganize the regenerated directory of which Barras had determined the majority in favour of Sièyes. The friends of Sièyes reunited with the partisans of the fallen government; and after three days of a secret committee, we declared that there was no reason for accusation. In deplored the errors of the directors, they gave them every credit for their good intentions, the difficulty of the circumstances, and, above all, the danger of a reaction.

That victory had been sufficiently disputed to give uneasiness to Sièyes, Barras, and Roger Ducos, and they declared that those daily interpellations deprived them of the public confidence, and that they did not think it possible to govern,

if the majority of the council of five hundred did not pronounce more in their favour. They requested personally my concurrence, and I seized the occasion of the anniversary of the 14th of July, which they celebrated by a civic fête in the bosom of each council, to declare more openly than I had done, by my silent vote against the accusation of the ex-directors. After the studied speech of the president, I expressed myself as follows :—

“ Representatives of the people,—I seize with avidity this solemn occasion, when we celebrate the taking of the Bastile, to submit to you some patriotic thoughts. The 30th Praireal, you reconstituted the government of the republic, and promised to the French people that they should enjoy your work, and behold a better future. Such is the sense of all your declarations. You will, without doubt, fulfil your promises ; and to fulfil them we must follow the impulse of our consciences, and not suffer ourselves to be misled by foreign impressions. To keep our oaths, it is necessary to signalize and repulse the first attempts made out of the constitutional line where we have desired to re-enter.”

(A great number of voices : “ Yes—yes !”)

“ If there existed projects to carry us away out of the directorial system, we would repress them. The friends of royalty would also mislead us, that they might see the great republic perish in the convulsions of civil war and of foreign war; but we and those thirty millions of Frenchmen whom we represent, we will not have any more convulsions, any more changes of system, no more scaffolds, above all. . . . We will not suffer, in short, the horrible régime of '93 to be substituted for the constitutional régime.”

The whole of the assembly, “ No, no, never !”

“ The 30th Praireal you enfranchised the constitution from the chains which rendered it impotent; but often the consequences of a political day are very different from those that have been expected, announced, and desired. The 9th Thermidor, made against the tyranny of Robespierre, brought with it the royalist reaction. The 18th Fructidor, made against royalism, brought with it the 22d Floreal. . . . Why had such a noble cause such deplorable effects ?

“ Why ? Our sad history teaches us. It is, that behind those generous men who made the 9th Thermidor and the 18th Fructidor, there pressed a crowd of party men, *courageous after the combat*, and more exalted to-day, than they were yesterday pusillanimous. Those men deprived the conquerors of their popularity ; precipitated themselves into every evil ; flattering without shame the predominant opinion, they appropriated to themselves the fruits of the immortal days.

“ It has often been seen that those who flatter tyrants,

flatter afterward the multitude. To cause their ancient baseness to be forgotten, they commit a fresh baseness. . . . Representatives of the people, if your attitude had only been undecided, the movement of Praireal would have finished, perhaps, like those which preceded it. Fortunately, experience has instructed all of us. As soon as the revolutionary torrent growls in the distance, we know that we must form a dike. . . . if we delay, it is too late. . . . And the torrent overturns the workmen upon the bleeding ruins of their work, begun too late.

" But let the good citizens assure themselves we will not turn aside from that constitution, our sole guarantee. . . . That directorial charter, approved by the sovereign people, shall not be placed there, in the midst of you, upon that pillar, as upon a block where they immolate the victims.(13) No, it shall not be immolated. We will defend it against all factions. I declare it by all your oaths, and, above all, from that which springs from your hearts at this moment. The directory regenerated is surrounded with all the strength of the law. . . . Let us not cease to surround it with all the strength of opinion; and, reunited by that sacred tie, we shall save the republic from the abyss into which they have plunged it.

" In the first days of its administration, the executive power found every thing in the most complete ruin: it still works upon the wreck. Its march appears too slow in the eyes of the impatient friends of the country. . . . And I also partake of their impatience, and I conclude that, the sooner to satisfy it, we must not be divided. The more we suffer to be discovered the necessity of a change in the system, and the more we weaken the government, her march will be so much the less vigorous and the less rapid.

" Besides, do not forget, representatives of the people, that if the equilibrium of the powers, without which there is no durable constitution, exacts that the government should not weigh upon the legislative body as before the 30th Praireal, it exacts, also, that the legislative body should not weigh upon the government, without which France would only have but changed her tyrants. The effect of your good intentions would be lost, and the abasement of the directory encourage the factions.

" To obtain that equilibrium, therefore, we must not exact imperiously the dismission of such or such agent, because he had been accused by such or such a paper. In short, that the directors will not condemn without hearing the justification of the accused, it must not be thought that they act like their predecessors; for they condemned at that time the people and the individuals without listening to their defence. Because we have been for a long time oppressed by the executive power, we must in our turn become oppres-

sors ; for the constitutional equilibrium would gain nothing by that change of parts. If a word said at that tribunal became an order for the government and a sentence for the accused, liberty would not any longer be scarcely but a chimera, and the directory a manikin. . . . It would in fact be exacting of our first magistrates to hold themselves their necks to the bowstring of an absolute master, according to an Asiatic custom, but very little republican.

" Representatives of the people, far from embarrassing the actions of the directory, let us invite them to display all the power which you have lately confided to them ; second them without reserve. Let not the movement of Praireal, made to regenerate the executive power, be directed against the executive power regenerated. Let our attitude restore the confidence, destroy the inquietudes, and bring calm into the bosoms of the friends of the republic. Let our enemies renounce the hope of seeing Frenchmen destroy each other with their own hands, and thus serve as auxiliaries to the coalition of kings.

" Let them hear once more, those men of blood and discord, the oath which we renew to defend the directorial constitution for and against all the parties."

The whole of the assembly rose in repeating the oath. Notwithstanding that apparent unanimity, my discourse was considered by the Jacobins as a culpable attack. The next day their paper (*Journal of Freemen*) complained that my declaration against the re-establishment of the revolutionary system, and my discourse, had furnished the subject of a pamphlet, entitled :—*No more terror, no more of the régime of 1793 ; down with the Jacobins.* The Journal thus far spoke only the truth, but in railing against me and Sièyes, it exhausted upon us its rich vocabulary of injuries. The censure of the journals had been taken from the government ; and while they were for the law of repression, the license of the periodical press was without limits.

This journal was the echo of the popular society which had opened the sittings of the hall of the manège and which had taken the name. They had profited by the movement of Praireal to open the clubs. The law forbade those reunions to have presidents, to make collective addresses, and to adopt. But they eluded the law step by step ; the General Augercau was nominated president under the name of the regulator ; several deputies were named secretaries, and several others had themselves registered. The audacity of that society increased by such a re-enforcement, and Paris heard with consternation come out of that new tribune the names and maxims of 1793. The number of the auditors augmented every day, and they formed externally considerable meetings. In those groups they repeated the denunciations, the patriotic songs, the provocations re-

sounded in the hall. They accused with emulation ministers, generals, deputies, and our commission the eleven, who had all of them the honours of the denunciation. They spoke vaguely of a grand plot in the town to proclaim a constitutional king, and they directed the suspicions upon the director who had resided at Berlin. They menaced the republicans with a near danger, to excite them to an émeute. "By whom are we governed?"—exclaimed an orator—"by perfidious and crafty ministers; by mean tyrants without genius? Yes, republicans, death hovers over you; and it will devour all, if your energy abates. The arms of the assassins are ready! The poniards are sharpened! . . . They are about to sound your last hour! . . . Will you perish thus pusillanimously?"—"No, no!" cried all the voices within and without—"Give us arms, give us arms,—To arms! To arms!"—"The republic demands our solicitude; and, on the other side, the manes of the martyrs of liberty call also for vengeance! . . . Oh! Romme!—Oh! Goujon, Soubrary, Darthé, and Babœuf! . . . You shall be avenged!—Yes, you shall be avenged!—but by the national justice, and not by assassination!"—It was impossible that such discourses should not finish by kindling the passions of the multitude. Often had the guard of the council been obliged to interfere; and, to stop the disorder, blood had flowed more than once. That guard was charged only with the police of the legislative enclosure, and the hall of the manège was found to be comprised within the enclosure of the council of ancients. That council, indignant at the turbulence of the society, resolved to take away the place which they had given them. Forced to quit the manège, it endeavoured to take refuge in the ancient house of the oratorians; but the peaceful inhabitants of that part of the town repulsed such neighbours who were so little agreeable. At length the wandering society found an asylum in the ancient hall of the Jacobins, and it was there that it recommenced its tumultuous reunions. The new hall appeared to have augmented the audacity of the members of the society. The ancients were most particularly the object of their threats. They denounced nominatively the deputies Chasset, Barraillon, and Courtois. The animosity towards the last was beyond all bounds. . . . It was him who, upon the 9th of Thermidor, had made the famous report against the tyranny of Robespierre. . . . All those who regretted at the bottom of their heart 1793, must have had the name of Courtois in horror.

The anniversary of the immortal day of Thermidor was arrived. Courtois celebrated that national festival by railing with vehemence against the régime of terror, which madmen appeared desirous to bring back again to the country. Sièyes, as president of the directory, pronounced at

the Champ de Mars a discourse which was worthy of his high renown.(14) The accord of the majority of the directory and the council of ancients was evident; but a great part of the council of five hundred leaned towards the revolutionary measures. At the sitting of the anniversary of the 9th Thermidor, they were occupied among us with the popular societies, and they proposed a law for their organization, as if the question was to shelter them from the hatred of the government. Each sitting traced more profoundly the difference of sentiments which dominated in the two councils. The ancients rejected in that month many of our resolutions, and they were perhaps in the wrong not to have rejected more of them.

In fact, our project of law upon the repression of the abuses of the periodical press, rejected as being too imperfect, having been sent back to us, we replied by voting the suppression of the papers; and that resolution was approved by the ancients, notwithstanding their desire to augment the authority of the directory. The newspapers of the royalists and Jacobins also could deliver themselves up without any bridle to their passions. That condescendence of the ancients is explained by a desire of conciliation which appeared to them to be advantageous for the public good, and by their hopes of discussing shortly a new project of repression: but their good intentions did not prevent the evils that the license of the press produced at that epoch. In several of the departments, at Bordeaux, at Lille, at the town of Orient, at Rouen, at Amiens, serious troubles followed the suppression of the censure of the newspapers and the openings of the clubs. Those troubles were everywhere disadvantageous for the Jacobins; the result showed that people would not have any more of their régime. "We have not forgotten," said they on all sides, "their atrocious domination. If they were as good citizens as they pretend to be, would they still be objects of anxiety for all the French? Do they think that they can only do good in denouncing and proscribing in a mass, in sowing everywhere suspicions and terror? People do not frighten those whom they love; but, instead of reassuring that country which they pretend to love in their hearts, they chill it with fear!"

Another of our resolutions, far more fatal even than the license of the newspapers, was equally approved of by the ancients. It was the law of the hostages, worthy sister of the law of the suspected.(15) As soon as a commune was declared in a state of trouble, the administration was authorized to choose the hostages among the relations of the emigrants, the ci-devant nobles, and the relations of rebels who made a part of the armed crowds. These hostages were to be imprisoned; those who got away were assimilated with

the emigrants. For each republican assassinated, four of the hostages were to be transported, and a sequestration put upon all they possessed. The hostages in a mass were, besides, submitted to a penalty of five thousand francs for each individual that was assassinated. In decreeing the project of law, the legislative body addressed a proclamation to the people.(16) That proclamation endeavoured in vain to justify a law worthy of '93. How could the directory and the two councils suffer themselves to be led away to commit so great a fault? The royalists had become threatening in several parts of the West and South: public functionaries, the purchasers of national properties, had been assassinated; the alarm was spread from village to village. At Bordeaux, the streets and the public places had been covered with the proclamations of Louis XVIII. In the environs of Toulouse, the armed bands had dared approach near the town, with the white flag displayed. At length the daily clamours of the clubs, the violence of the public papers, and the placards, had not been without influence upon the best minds. Exaggeration is like calumny; it leaves always something.

The deputy Cornet, in explaining the motives of his vote to the ancients, expressed thus his regrets and those of many of his colleagues: "I have already said that this project of law appeared to me to be against the pacification which was proposed. I have yielded to the first sentiment that the love of my country inspired; but when I see the members of your commission demand from you the adoption; when our colleagues of those departments, where the application of the law would be a sad necessity, look upon it as the most efficacious means of preserving them from the terrible scourge of civil war which surrounds their countries, and might invade the whole of France, then must we lament under the extremity to which they have reduced us, and at the same time resign ourselves, since it is the only remedy that they think likely to assure the public welfare." It was thus that the council was misled. They hoped to fortify the government by a revolutionary law which only weakened it, and deprived it of the public esteem, for the law of the hostages was only useful to the rebels, whose ranks it increased, and who took in their turn hostages among the republicans. In going beyond the mark, we did not obtain it, as it always happens.

A measure of the same sort as that of the hostages had been decided also in our council. The project of the loan of a hundred millions, voted after the 30th of Praireal, had become in the discussions, preparatory to our commissions, more and more revolutionary. When we voted, nothing was wanting; it was no longer a loan, but a tax upon the rich. The tax was progressive; the ex-nobles were con-

demned to a triple payment. The council of ancients repulsed our project. We were obliged to modify it, by taking from it the most severe measures ; and the ancients, after a very animated discussion, approved our new resolution, although it was little better than the first.

They rejected afterward our project of law against the transported priests.

The too celebrated Barrere, as well as his accomplices, Billaud, Varennes, Vadier, &c., was excluded from the amnesty of the 14th Frimaire, year 5. A speech of the General Lamarque had induced the council of five hundred to revoke the exception which struck them. The ancients rejected our resolution. Baraillot acquired new rights to the hatred of the Jacobins.

"Was there ever," said he, at the sitting of the 6th Thermidor, "a more horrible epoch than that where virtue and talent were a title of proscription ; where science was obliged to conceal itself, or mount the scaffold ; where the man of property was constrained to give up his place to cannibals and vampires ?

"Bonaparte !—would you have dared to signalize yourself beneath that dreadful régime ? Thou wouldest have quickly partaken of the fate of the brave Vestemaz. What can be the aim of the indulgence which they demand for Barrere ? Is it that they intend to recommence the work of those individuals (I forbear to call them men) whom they endeavour to make appear innocent ?

"Pardon, legislators, pardon me these transports of indignation. . . . I fancied myself near to the year 8 of the republic ! But, by a rapid and retrograde movement, I find myself brought back to '93. . . . For I hear the virtues of Barrere talked of.

"Indulgence for the misguided crowd, and even for the guilty ; but not for the satellites of that splenetic tyrant to whom Thermidor did justice but too late, and who wanted only a little genius to enslave us. How can they dare to lament over those beings who have committed every excess, who were guilty of every crime, who exercised every tyranny, and who are still disgusting with innocent blood ?"

Barrere beheld, then, his exile prolonged ; it belonged only to a stronger and calmer power to render, even to Barrere, the soil of the country. Against all human probabilities, Providence, in the disasters of St. Jean d'Acre, prepared for France the accession of that reparatory government. But was it not very strange that those same men who showed themselves so vigorous towards Rewbell and La Reveillère, demanded, at the same time, the recall of Barrere !!!

The question of the civil oath to the national guards offered to the Jacobins a more favourable result. This oath

bore the words of hatred to royalty and *anarchy*. They proposed to suppress the last word. Anarchy, said they, is the absence of the government; it is absurd to swear hatred to that which is negative. The General Jourdan, the conqueror of Fleurus, supported that suppression. A middle party terminated the quarrel. The civil oath bore afterwardhatred to royalty and all sorts of tyranny. The ancients sanctioned the change that the Jacobin party celebrated as a victory.

The real victories of that party had been the laws of the hostages and the forced loan. But they pretended, then, that those laws fortified the government: but, above all, they desired to draw the centre of action and the council of five hundred; and, to succeed, it was necessary to abase and weaken the directory. It was for that purpose that the paper of the freemen and the club of the Jacobins were constantly working in concert. Sièyes was become more than ever the object of their hatred, after he had unmasked them in the solemnities of the 10th of August. This passage in his discourse at the Champ de Mars had torn the veil, which, upon the 9th Thermidor, he had only lifted.(17) “The directory knows the aim of those men... What they desire, is to intoxicate the public with mistrust; to carry confusion and discouragement into people’s minds, and to drive the French to despair; to throw all into confusion. . . . It is, in a word, that they may govern, at whatever price it may be. Frenchmen, you know how they govern!”

Far from being discouraged, the Jacobin journal continued to express itself with so much audacity that it appeared as if certain of a near triumph. “The directory,” said they, “have raised the mask, and ostensibly sanctioned the massacre of the republicans. The horrible discourse of its president, upon the 10th of August, is an inconceivable augmentation of the counter-revolutionary audacity compared with its preceding discourse. The directory dares to affirm that we have violated the constitution. . . . *It has lied*,—it is an odious calumniator.”

The violence of this newspaper was less dangerous than the manœuvres employed at the same time in all parts of the republic. In the clubs of the departments, they propagated the most infamous calumnies against the three directors who formed the majority. Commissions sent from Paris hawked about accusatory addresses, and by their means the affiliation of many of the clubs with that of Paris was already assured. The club of Grenoble offered the scandal of a panegyric upon Robespierre, pronounced at the tribune; the re-establishment of the régime of ’93 was highly extolled, and a new convention was demanded as the sole means of salvation. At the door even of the legislative

body, placards were posted up to excite agitation and insurrection. It was no longer time to hesitate. The commission of inspectors of the council of ancients, in rendering an account of those placards, proposed to send them to the directory, and to demand why they did not cause the articles of the constitution to be executed which forbade all collective acts to the societies. The directory replied to this cry of alarm by calling upon the minister of the police ; and that minister did not hesitate to accuse the excesses of the clubs, and to demand repressive measures.(18) His report was sent back to us by the ancients, and it excited among us a very violent discussion that was without any result, but in which they succeeded to have it passed to the order of the day upon the impression of the report. The directory, however, still pursued the accomplishment of its duty ; it ordained the society of the Jacobins to be closed, and informed us of that great measure by a message, in which the firm tone and evident reasons reduced for a moment its adversaries to silence.(19) We ordained that the project of law upon the organization and the limits of the political societies should be immediately submitted to discussion. A second message upon the troubles of the South was read in a secret committee, and we accorded to the directory for a month the right of making domiciliary visits. That extraordinary authority, given to those who had just put an end to the Jacobins, appeared to indicate that the two councils felt the necessity of not weakening the government. Yet, notwithstanding, in the same sitting, they obtained from us a measure that was entirely contrary, the formation of a commission of seven members to present measures of public welfare. . . . The closing of the Jacobins, and the troubles in the South, purposely exaggerated, operated differently upon people's minds. Tormented with inquietude, attacked by several excellent orators, and filled with a contagious conviction, like Enchasserieux, Briot, and Lamarque, we could no longer prevent the formation of that commission which we had repulsed several times, because it divided the public authority at the precise moment when it ought to have been concentrated in a single point. But such are too often the consequences of a numerous assembly, moved by a crisis unexpected by some, and skilfully prepared by others. In vain several deputies represented that a committee for measures of public welfare was a revolutionary authority; that we had an executive power whom we had just invested with the right of domiciliary visits ; that there were no new measures to decree, but that it was necessary to execute those that were already taken, and that, in acting thus, we overturned with one hand what the other had raised. . . . All was in vain : they replied by showing the letters which they had received from the South

and the West, and in crying : “*They murdered the republicans! The white flag! The royalists lend the hand to Suvarrow!*” All that we could obtain was to repulse the permanence, which was also proposed in that stormy sitting, and to cause the commission of seven to be named, not by the president, according to custom, but by a secret scrutiny. That form of election was extremely important, because the president Juviot, who belonged to the exalted party, had probably formed a committee of persons who thought like him. The scrutiny was extracted during the sitting, and I was proclaimed member of the commission of seven, as well as Chenier, Danou, Lamarque, Enchasserieux, Berlier, and Boulaye de la Meurthe ; the friends of the government had thus the majority.

In the state of irritation in which the council of five hundred found itself, the most insignificant circumstance appeared serious. The General Lefebvre, who commanded Paris, had written to the president Juviot, to announce to him that the grenadiers of the legislative body, placed at his disposal, not being necessary in the quiet situation of Paris, he sent them to their quarters. A thousand conjectures were raised upon that letter : was it not an indication of a plot ? —Who had dared to place the guard of the legislative body under the orders of General Lefebvre ? They accused the general, by saying that most probably he had lost his senses ! They challenged the inspectors of the council. I was obliged, in that quality, to answer the challenge ; and as I felt for the commandant of Paris as much esteem as friendship, I replied as follows to what they had said against him :—“I can assure one of the best speakers upon the fear which he expressed, with regard to the subject of the commandant of Paris, the brave Lefebvre has too wise a head to lose his senses so easily. It would be more natural to demand informations from him, than to injure him at the tribune. Member of your commission of inspectors, I declare that I am completely ignorant of the point in question ; it is either equivocal, or the order which disposed of our guard came from another authority than the commission of the inspectors of your council. It is what should be sought after with calmness, and known with ‘certainty !’” The informations that were received the next day caused all the inquietudes to vanish. The inspectors of the ancients, fearing that the closing of the Jacobins might bring about some troubles, had charged the chief of the guard of the legislative body to augment with a hundred men the post of service, and to come to an understanding with the commandant of Paris. But the letter of General Lefebvre, instead of being addressed to the president of the council of agents, had been addressed, through an error, to our president. He had reason, however, to be alarmed since the

question was to dispose of our constitutional guard, who had no other superiors than the inspectors of the two councils.

We discovered very soon how much they had exaggerated the troubles in the West and the South. The Chouans had been beaten in every part and dispersed. On the other side, the threats of the society of Jacobins dissipated in smoke. The commission of seven, animated by better sentiments, sought only to second the efforts of the executive power, to re-establish in the interior order, peace, and public confidence, sole end that we had hoped to obtain in making the revolution of Praireal.

In the history of M. Thiers, except the exclusive application of the title of patriots to the Jacobins (a grave error, which cannot be too much condemned), the author traces a brilliant picture of the directory at that period, true upon the whole; but several of the figures in the first plan resemble it very little. It is in describing that which we have not seen ourselves; the truth of the details is difficult to be laid hold of. How did M. Thiers learn that Sièyes, infatuated with what he had seen in Prussia, tired his colleagues by repeating constantly, "*It is not thus that they do at Berlin!*" Those informations were furnished him, without doubt, by interested contemporaries, who were not too faithful. I saw Sièyes every day, and, if he had vaunted Berlin in that stupid manner to us, we should have smiled with contempt; notwithstanding our ancient esteem for the orator of the tiers état, we should have said that he was in his dotage, and, far from listening to him with respect, we should have quickly sought another chief. No minister was ever less infatuated with a court. Surrounded with the most fatal prejudices, our ambassador had learned how to conquer them by a simplicity worthy of the grand republic. He had placed himself far above the pitiful intrigues of a court. The day upon which, by means of some little stratagems, they succeeded in making the ambassador of another power take for a moment the first place, Sièyes sat down quietly, and said only with a loud voice, "It is of little consequence where I am: *the place which is occupied by the ambassador of the French people always becomes the first.*" If they choose to find infatuation in this great citizen, let it not be at least the ridiculous infatuation of being a courtier at Berlin. It is true that Sièyes always had numerous detractors; he was not gifted with the genius of intrigue, without which we are rarely appreciated at a just value. Many of his rivals thought themselves equal to him, or at least pretended to have it thought so. They succeeded sometimes in making others believe it, and in putting his superiority in doubt. They repeated everywhere the words of Talleyrand, the inexhaustible author of piquant

sallies: "I hear for ever talked of the *profound* head of the director Sièyes! . . . It is *hollow*, they mean to say, without doubt." The witty author of that epigram possessed too solid a wisdom not to find very *hollow* a politic of which the best legislation of the republic was the only principle. We all laughed at his *bon mot*; which did not prevent, notwithstanding that the heads which were really *hollow* were those who took a pun for reasons.

The historian Thiers was equally deceived when he transmitted this pretended discourse of the director La Reveillère—"Barras is duped by Sièyes; Sièyes is duped by Barras, . . . and both of them are duped by the Bonapartes." The Bonapartes! Napoleon was at that time beneath the walls of that town where his fortune failed him, as he said in laughing once at the Tuileries. From his camp of St. Jean d'Acre, he dreamed of Damascus, Aleppo, Bagdad, and Constantinople, and thought little of duping Sièyes or Barras. As for the brothers of Napoleon, they must have been gifted with a most miraculous spirit of divination, if they could have thought at that period of the first of those two returns which struck Europe with amazement. Such returns are not to be counselled, are not to be prepared, are not to be plotted. The frigate of Egypt, the brig of the Elbe, the bark of Cesar, are only to be moved by the inspired breath of genius. Those events of a superior order must not be measured by the common measure. For my part, I affirm that the return from Egypt, as well as that from Elba, surprised us as much as anybody. It is puerile to believe and insinuate that I intrigued at Paris for Napoleon to return from the plains of the East just at the moment of the catastrophe. The *Deus ex machina* is no longer good, even for the theatre, and it should not be introduced into history; in a revolution, above all, it would be a poor machine to set to work. La Reveillère, notwithstanding his theophilanthropy, had too much good sense to believe and say such absurdities.

But let us admit for a moment that supposition. . . . It was not necessary then to endeavour to fortify the new directory; it was not necessary to appeal to the most renowned political man, and the most celebrated for his legislative wisdom, and for his antipathy against military supremacy. In seconding Sièyes with all my youthful efforts, I did what was necessary to preserve the directorial government. If that administration could have been saved, it would have been by Sièyes, and those who were ranged around him. And it might have been saved! . . . Yes, if the council of five hundred had possessed as much confidence as the ancients in the wisdom of Sièyes in the month of Thermidor, we should have recalled to life that constitution of the year 3, which, since the 18th of Fructidor and

the 30th Praireal, and notwithstanding two *coups d'état*, was nothing more than a corpse. And Napoleon would not have found the republic almost at dissolution. Yes, another Sièyes would have been the republican legislator of his country. But where was his strength? Where was his cunning? And without cunning, without the sword, how could he govern, in an age of progression and universal pretensions?

Month of Fructidor, year 7. From the 18th of August to the 22d of September, 1799.

Reactions in Italy—English invasion in Holland—Defection of the Dutch Fleet—Battle of Novi and death of Joubert—The Jacobins accuse Sièyes—Garat and Chenier defend him—Pamphleteers and the Journal of Freemen—Decree of Accusation against both of them—My report in the name of the Commission of Seven—The two Jourdans—Several of the Journalists are arrested—Projects of changes decreed in the two parties—Jourdan proposes the Permanence, and the Declaration that the Country is in danger—I defend it—His Propositions are Repulsed—The Views of Sièyes for reforming the Constitution were entirely Republican—Concentration of the Executive Power—Division of the Powers—Universal Suffrage—Conservative Senate electing among the Candidates named by the People—Perfection of the Ostracism of the Ancient Republics—The Consular Reform prepared without the Return of Napoleon being thought of—The Men of Brumaire are no more the Authors of the Imperial Monarchy, than the constitutions of 1789 are the Authors of the Republic of '93—But for the unexpected return of Napoleon, the Jacobins would probably have triumphed—Personal Aristocracy—Answer to the Detractors of Napoleon—The Example of England proves that a Monarchy really Constitutional may be the best of Republics.

I. THE POWERS.

THE probability of a rupture among our enemies appeared to shine upon our horizon. The Russians manifested the intention of recalling the King of Sardinia to his provinces of Piedmont, and that project was repulsed by Austria, who aimed at planting their standards in the Piedmontese towns, instead of raising the colours of the house of Savoy. That cupidity had been very useful to us in the war of the first coalition; and we hoped that it would serve us a second time.

The constancy of Prussia in her neutrality raised also some clouds between that power and the coalesced. The ministers of London and Petersburgh left Berlin. We attached too much importance to those departures; but it left no doubt upon the actual intentions of Prussia, whose example decided Saxony and Denmark to keep entirely out of the way of the coalition.

Our terrible enemy, Pitt, become more powerful than ever, was no longer satisfied with scattering floods of gold over the continent. He prepared for several months a powerful armament. Ireland, Holland, Egypt, Italy, thought themselves menaced. The storm fell at length upon the coast of Holland ; ten thousand English, commanded by the General Abercromby, bathed with their blood the downs of the Helder. . The resistance of the General Daendels was sharp but useless. The Duke of York, followed by a second expedition, went to place himself at the head of the army ; and Brune, who commanded the French and the Batavians, surrounded the invaders with his formidable columns.

II. THE ALLIED REPUBLICS.

THE most cruel reaction desolated the Italian republics. Naples, above all, was by turns a prey to the ferocious brigands of Calabria, commanded by the Cardinal Ruffo, and to the scaffolds raised by the order of the king. The armistice promised was not sanctioned. Nelson suffered one of his masts to become the gallows of the brave Admiral Caracciola. The fraternity of arms and glory was powerless (for the first time) upon the soul of a British commander and conqueror. Naples, during several weeks, swam with blood, and the court returned triumphant.

Switzerland was no longer but a field of battle. The Austrian, Russian, and French camps covered her narrow valleys and her high mountains. The authorities of the country were for us or against us, according to the marches or the countermarches of the armies.

Holland, invaded by the Duke of York, appeared desirous of defending herself by sea and land ; but the proclamations of the Prince of Orange had penetrated amid all the vessels. That house, whose name is inseparable from the glory and the liberty of the Batavian power, was not forgotten. The sailors of the fleet refused to fight the protectors of their ancient stadholder ; they thought, when they surrendered themselves, of passing to the flag of Orange. . . . But the point in question was twenty-five vessels of the line. . . . The British lion thought proper to adjudge to himself so fine a prey ! . . . The Dutch fleet ceased to exist. Aristides would, without doubt, have struck with an anathema such a victory. . . . But Themistocles would not perhaps have neglected so useful a result. The party of the stadholder was awakened also in several provinces. Brune had at the same time his enemies to repulse, and some of his allies to satisfy.

III. THE ARMIES.

OUR army of Italy was reorganized with haste. It then gave us a spectacle worthy of the brightest days of the ancient republics. The young lieutenant of Napoleon, Joubert, on receiving the command from the hands of General Moreau, nobly demanded the assistance of him whom he came to replace; and Moreau, whose glory was then so brilliant and so pure, yielded to the prayers of his successors, and remained to aid him in the approaching battle. Both of them merited that the crown of oak should be mingled on their forehead with the laurels of battle. They commanded together a general attack against the Austrian-Russians; but fortune would not that time range itself on the side of all the civic virtues. The plain of Novi was the tomb of Joubert. Moreau saved the remains of our army, which the superiority of numbers had vanquished, notwithstanding the most noble efforts, and the names of Joubert and of Novi traversed France amid a funeral concert.

The child of victory, the invincible Massena, maintained himself alone with advantage, notwithstanding his inferiority: he attacked even the enemies at the passage of the Aar, and beat them completely; but that advantage was not of a nature to balance the catastrophe of Novi.

IV. THE INTERIOR.

FROM the commencement of the month the progress of Suwarrow struck a fatal blow upon the directory. The parties, suppressed for a moment, revived with Twey. The Jacobins and the royalists, far from being coalesced, were very frank enemies; but the impatience of the first, and the hatred of the second, tended equally to overthrow the government. The interior, in this month of reverses, offered everywhere an obstinate and bitter struggle. The Jacobin newspapers repeated the gross contradiction which they had given to the directory. "If there could be found," said they, "in our language a word more expressive, we should make it our duty to employ it. Sièyes is more culpable than was Carnot and Merlin. If he does not change his system, there must be made another 18th Fructidor or 30th Praireal for him." I was not spared by those indefatigable denunciators. They reproached me for having been a member of a revolutionary committee (singular accusation in their mouths), of having been named deputy at twenty-three years of age, in a department that had no right to name that year—of being the brother-in-law of an emigrant, and, what was still more extraordinary, of having endeavoured to assassinate some merchants of Morocco, to

obtain possession of their vessel, &c. Since we had declared our horror for 1793, we had become conspirators, traitors, assassins! The authors of those poisonous writings caused at the same time the most imprudent pamphlets to be distributed: one of those pamphlets, entitled "Change of Residence," placing the council of ancients at Montmartre, (where the gallows had formerly stood!) The ancients lost patience, and they denounced to the executive power the pamphlet and the Journal of Freemen. In communicating to us their decree, they made no doubt of our consent. But they were deceived in their expectations; notwithstanding the speech, full of high thoughts of our colleague Cabanis, the council of five hundred passed to the order of the day. The directory, however, caused the journalist and the pamphleteer to be prosecuted before the tribunals.

The law of the hostages had been applied to twelve departments of the West, and to that of the high Garonne; far from having calmed them, those immoderate measures had increased the evil and propagated the alarms. "They want to bring us back to the government of '93," they cried on all sides; "we will not suffer it." The agents of royalism took advantage very actively of that unfortunate law: the bands of insurgents reunited in crowds, and defended themselves, near Toulouse, in several combats against the regular troops. In the departments of La Charente, the royalist proclamations and the white flags seriously alarmed the magistrates; and the national guards united to defend themselves.

The condemnation of the Jacobin newspaper did not put a stop to the manœuvres of the party. Sièyes was denounced at the council of five hundred, as having been elected before the year was accomplished. Chenier, in repulsing that calumny, deplored the blindness of those who sought to sow division among the authorities; he made an eloquent eulogy of the accused director. Garat had spoken in the same sense to the council of ancients. We rejected the accusation as a calumny. To put an end to that rage of denunciation against the directors and the representatives of the people, Chenier, in a motion of order, proposed to us to submit to severe rules the denunciators of the members of the directory and the councils. "We must," said they, "fix the conditions where such conditions may be read at our tribune. Is it not necessary to ascertain the existence and the civil state of the informer? Ought a denunciation, signed by an emigrant, to be read? There no longer exists any strength for us but in union. Those who would divide us are then the enemies of France. Does not the coalition hide the guilty hand which ferments our discords? We must not acknowledge the republicans in that handful of

strangers, of new and unknown men in the revolution, which was made without them. It is they who dare accuse the civilians who overthrew the throne and founded the republic. The good sense of the people, the wisdom of the ancients, the firmness of the directory, and yours, will baffle all their plots."

The proposition of Chenier was adopted without opposition.

The commission of the seven, named in the preceding month to present measures for the public safety, had not yet made any report.

Out of seven members, there were four of us very little disposed for extraordinary measures. We thought the government ought not to be embarrassed, and that it was better to let it act in liberty; but the impatient accused our idleness.

Their arguments and the gravity of the circumstances decided us to unite. Enchasserieux and myself were named reporters. Enchasserieux caused several measures to be voted to accelerate the raising of the conscripts. I was charged to propose the project of law and the following considerations:

"Representatives of the people, To fulfil its mandate and obtain a useful result, your commission of seven have been under the necessity of examining the situation of the republic.

"Its attention has been directed upon our frontiers, and upon the troubles in the interior. It submits to you the ideas which that examination has suggested, and a project of the resolution in consequence.

"Joubert has taken the command of the army of Italy: the hopes of the Piedmontese and Cisalpine patriots are raised; the confidence of our troops surrounds them. In a few days, perhaps at this moment, Joubert conducts to victory; the brave impatient reseize it. The passage of the Bormida, and the occupation of the town of Acqui, the ancient general masters of Beaulieu, are satisfactory presages. The army of Switzerland, commanded by Massena, quits a glorious defensive, necessitated by distress. You have learned his successes; you know that the mount St. Gothard beheld again our phalanxes, and you learn to-day that the Valais is reconquered. Numerous battalions crowded upon the Rhine; an army already organized marched towards the Alps. Championnet and Moreau directed them: the first may conquer to-day with impunity; the second return upon the shores of the great river, so many times the witness of its glory. The combined fleets of France and Spain await the expedition prepared in the English ports at a great expense; the reunion of those fleets proves that we have sincere allies, and that their interest and royalty may be a re-

proach to governments whose principles differ. On the other side, the abuses of administration are corrected in silence; the fatal inaptitude, which seconded three months ago the efforts of the coalition, is replaced by an indefatigable zeal. All is in motion and reparation; this general movement, which succeeds a calm of too long a duration, is in a republic the only guarantee of the victory.

"Here, then, representatives of the people, are the fruits which we gather from the events of Praireal. Let the detractors of that day, the more glorious that it never cost a drop of blood, judge and condemn it at least in silence.

"Your commission is far from finding the position of our armies as alarming as it has been endeavoured to be represented; it believes, however, that it is right that you should provide against reverses. Excessive security might become fatal.

"We have been struck, therefore, with the necessity of uniting new forces to guaranty our frontiers; and although the probability of the danger is further removed every day, we have resolved to propose to you the formation of an army of a second line, ready to march upon every point directed by the executive power.

"As for the interior, your commission cannot dissimulate to you the painful state. From the first days of Thermidor, royalism, at the aspect of an active and regenerated directory, trembled for the coalition; royalism, implacable in her hatred, and accustomed to find resources in her defeats, calls again discord to her aid, and replies by civil war to the call of strangers. Faithful to its frightful system, it takes all masks and all forms to excite troubles. It arms in La Vendée. . . . Assassinations in the West and South. . . . It recruits in the towns, and laments in the country upon the fate of the conscripts. . . . There it advances with the menacing eye of a tiger. . . . Here, not yet daring to show itself openly, it creeps and crawls like a reptile.

"Our troops, it is true, make everywhere the royal troops bite the dust. You know the patriotic conduct of the functionaries and the citizens of the high Garonne. At Montauban, in the interval of three hours, several companies of cavaliers have formed themselves against the revolted. But it is already a great deal to have dared to combat with us; those attempts failing are ready to be renewed, and proves the hopes and the audacity of royalism. . . . Fathers of the country! you can no longer shut your eyes upon the abysses that are open at a time in several parts of the republic.

"Your commission has felt that the sword is, for the future, the only law that ought to be opposed to the partisans of royalty. It has felt that they ought to publish all

their attacks, that the general indignation may be raised against them. It thinks that at the present moment the second measure of public safety is to create a force particularly destined to repress the troubles of the interior, and we have adopted the formation of an army in the departments.

"Your commission having decided unanimously the creation of those two new armies—its attention is drawn upon the means of execution.

"The raising of the auxiliary battalions, decreed by the law of the 10th Messidor, offers resources sufficient for the completion of the actual regiments, and for the armies of the second and departmental line. The affirmative has been proved to us; after having filled the ancient regiments, the auxiliary battalions still offer a surplus of a hundred thousand men, sufficient for the two new corps. Our enemies ought to know, however, that to augment our levies we only need a signal. The ardour of our youth is equalled only by the zeal of the citizens of every age. What Frenchman but would prefer to perish, rather than drag on without honour a miserable life beneath the yoke of a barbarian? Who could support the idea of becoming the conquest of a Cossack, and to see the great people, conquerors of so many kings, reduced to become the slave of slaves? Oh! my country! Notwithstanding the perfidious assertions and the hatred of the counter-revolutionists, thy noble bosom is ready to open again for liberty. That bosom was, it is true, torn by parricide children. It is still! but all thy blood has not yet been shed! There yet remains for independence and glory! Before strangers, every Frenchman cries, Fidelity to the republic! no more divisions, no more interior struggles, no more unjust suspicions! The constitution and victory! The first is confided to us, the second is for our armies, and we and the armies will fulfil our duties, or we will perish at the post which is assigned for us.

"Your commission proposes to you to demand an account, every ten days, of the directory, of the levy, and of the arming of the auxiliary battalions; it proposes also to you to proclaim at the national tribune the names of the zealous departments, and the names of the negligent departments. The honourable naming awaits them, and without doubt the Coté-d'or and La Meurthe, where the levy is accomplished; the high and lower Rhine, where they act with zeal, shall be the first to obtain that recompense which our warriors gain almost every day.

"A last observation has struck us:—The plots of our enemies are prepared in silence; their bands are organized in darkness; they are scattered, and will fight like the Arabs of the desert; they pillage, assassinate, separate, and unite

to pillage and assassinate again. . . . Such is the seal of reprobation, the seal of the stranger, that, for six years past, has been stamped upon their foreheads. But we!—It is the publicity, the splendour, the imposing reunions that are alone worthy of the national grandeur. The troops that are disseminated are sometimes useful; but too often they are the prey of brigands, who surprise them unawares. Those brigands watch the insulated gendarmes, the small detachments, and the cash-chests ill-escorted. . . When they see a departmental army organized; when that army covers several points, and that in the south, as in the north, those standards float upon immense camps; when those camps, in case of necessity, become the point of reunion of the neighbouring national guards, concentrating in their bosom the republican thunder, then doubt not that fear will disperse the conspirators, and the stipendiaries of Pitt will tremble—the mint of gold will give way in their souls before the fear of death; upon the first rumour of a revolt an avenging legion will fly to the spot where they attempt it. . . . Wo, then, wo to the rebellious commune, if there is one that dares to raise the banner of royalism! The following is the project of your commission.

“1st. The executive directory will render an account, every ten days, to the legislative body, of the levy of the auxiliary battalions, and their equipment, and their armament.

“2d. The directory will indicate the departments which display the greatest activity in the execution of the law of the 10th of Messidor, as well as all of those whose tardiness is remarkable. The names of those departments shall be solemnly proclaimed by the president of each council.

“3d. When the auxiliary battalions shall have completed the regiments of the active army, the remaining force shall be divided into two bodies.

“4th. The first shall be united as an army of the second line upon the points fixed by the directory.

“5th. The second shall be formed by the departmental army particularly destined to repress the troubles in the interior.”

The propositions for those two new armies, of which one was to act in the interior, had greatly augmented the power of the government; for it was for a contrary end that the commission of seven had been formed. It was not measures of strength and concord that they expected from us. Our project was attacked without circumspection; it was adjourned, then put aside. They had concluded that to have propositions of law for public safety, *as they expected*, it was necessary to have another commission. They reproached Jourdan for having given his vote to my report, which they found insignificant and favourable to the directorial despo-

tism. That general was surrounded with a well-merited esteem; he was equally beloved at the council as in the armies. Sièyes anxiously desired to reconcile him with the government, and I took him several times to the Luxembourg. In the reunions of the commission of seven, we had frequent occasion to exchange amicably our reciprocal convictions. I had succeeded, with the aid of Boulai de la Meurthe and Chenier, to modify the opposition of that pure soul, sufficiently exasperated only by the reverses of our armies, to recur to conventional measures as necessary for public safety. After one of our reunions in committee, the discussion between us having been raised to a degree of unexpected violence, I retraced the inevitable excesses of the system to which his friends misled him, and in the midst of several warm speeches I made use of an interpellation which would have appeared an outrage to a less virtuous man: "Ah! Jourdan de Fleurus!" I exclaimed; "*Jourdan de Fleurus!* wouldst thou then become '*Jourdan coupe?*'" Têtes.

(20) Our excellent colleague, confused a moment, advanced immediately towards me, and, holding out his hand to me in a friendly manner, his friendship was assured to me from that day. He had sufficiently coincided with us to place a departmental army at the disposition of the government. Unfortunately, the catastrophe of Novi had renewed his patriotic inquietudes; he again placed himself at the head of the Jacobin party, where we had to combat him till the 18th Brumaire.

The rigour of the ancients and the directory against the newspapers and pamphlets, had not repressed their licentious excesses. Upon the news of the disaster of Novi, and of the defection of the Batavian fleet, they no longer knew any limits; Moreau and Macdonald had delivered up the army of Italy to the Russians!!! The directors had delivered up the fleet of the Texel to the English! They called upon the people to save themselves. The directory determined all at once upon a vigorous measure; the 17th Fructidor they caused eleven journalists to be arrested, and placed seals upon their presses. They informed us of it immediately by a message.(21) They addressed, at the same time, a proclamation to the French.(22) The directory thought to have the right to act thus after the article 145 of the constitution, of which the following is the text:

"If the directory is informed that any plot or conspire against the safety of the exterior and interior of the state, they may decree mandates to appear, and mandates of arrest, against those who are supposed to be the authors and accomplices."

The next day was the anniversary of the 18th Fructidor. Sièyes alluded, in his speech, to the rigorous act exercised against the periodical papers.(23) The opinion which he

demanded with so much frankness, was favourable to him, not unanimous, but in great majority. The council of ancients, who had provoked it, approved of it highly ; they expressed a lively regret at having revoked the law of censure of Fructidor, before they had promulgated a law of repression. But the council of five hundred heard the directorial message with less favour. Briot accused the directory with the most scandalous tyranny. "I declare to France," said he, "that a coup d'état is in preparation. Perhaps the directors have a treaty of peace in one pocket, and a constitution in the other, for the public calamities. If the act which I have just denounced is consummated, it is necessary that the people should come to our aid ; and when we have no longer liberty or independence, they must rise and save themselves." These words were not wanting of echoes in the council, but they remained without any other result than to cause them to put immediately the penal law in deliberation against the abuses of the press ; every sensible mind felt that to deprive the government of the censure and the penal law, and deliver it up to the unpunished rage of the contrary parties, was to reduce it to impotence. The application to the journalists of a constitutional article directed against the cases of confiscation, was, without doubt, forced ; but there was less inconvenience in forcing the application of an article, than to leave the power at the mercy of the royalists and Jacobins. Sièyes, by his firmness, acquired new rights to the national confidence.

The arrestation of so many journalists appeared, to a great part of the five hundred, to announce a coup d'état ; they thought themselves menaced ; they united around the directors Gohier and Moulins. Jourdan, Augereau, and Lamarque, convinced that the danger was real, put themselves in defence, and, as in a revolution, the better to be able to defend one's self, it is wisest to attack, it was soon resolved among the Jacobins to cause the country to be declared in danger, and to decree the permanence.

I ought not to dissemble here that, for several months past, many of the deputies of our party, frightened at the state of affairs, had thought of the means of ameliorating them. The Jacobins not only thought, but they endeavoured with constancy to bring us back to the conventional measures. Looking upon the safety of the republic precisely in an inverse sense from the Jacobins, we thought with Sièyes, that we ought to concentrate, more than ever, the power in the government, as long as foreign invasion menaced us. The ideas of 1793, which appeared salutary to our adversaries, appeared mortal and impracticable to us. Each party made its plans. "*What shall we do if we are attacked?*" This was what they said on both sides. To neutralize the influence of the generals, Sièyes and his two

colleagues had placed their hopes upon the youthful conqueror of the Tyrol, the brave and unfortunate Joubert. Overtures were made to him ; he modestly replied that he was not yet sufficiently known by victory to repose upon his laurels ; they gave him the command of the army of Italy. If, instead of falling at Novi, Joubert had vanquished Suwarrow, his glory would have sufficed to balance that of his rivals. I so little expected the return of Napoleon, that I had embraced with ardour the hope that Sièyes had placed in the victories and virtues of Joubert. His early loss appeared to us a public calamity.

After that loss, Sièyes was fearful that the struggle, thanks to the influence of the generals of the council, might finish against the directory. I believe, though unable to say positively, that the overtures made to Macdonald and Moreau were received with coldness. I had been ignorant of the communications which might have existed between Sièyes and those two generals. It was the union of Jourdan that I had preferred, and Sièyes engaged me to make some attempts. I believe that no one would have been more calculated than the citizen hero of Fleurus to cause the project of the republican form to succeed, sole aim of our hopes. I spoke to Jourdan on the part of Sièyes, but it was in vain. It was not in concentrating the directorial power, but in concentrating the authority in the council of five hundred, that Jourdan desired to save the republic. Sièyes, alarmed by the report of a reunion held at Bernadotte's, said to me one day, with a sigh—"We have no longer, then, a sword for us : ah ! why is not your brother here ?" He must have thought the danger very pressing to have let that wish escape him ; and, in fact, all the probabilities, in case of a violent struggle, appeared to be in favour of the Jacobins.

Of all the generals, the minister of war, Bernadotte, was the most suspected by Sièyes for his ambition and audacity ; the resolution had been taken, for several days past, to take the ministry from him—Sièyes and Roger Ducos wanted to replace him after the arrestation of the journalists ; the incertitude of Barras alone retarded that vigorous act. Barras, according to his custom, had opened negotiations with everybody. Bernadotte retained Barras, and excited Jourdan. It was after a nocturnal conference held by the minister of war, that Jourdan, having united the commission of seven, invited us, in a rude and peremptory tone, to propose to the council the permanence, and to declare the country in danger. The commission having rejected his invitation, he hastened to the council, surrounded by all those who thought like him, and he pronounced a written speech,(24) in which the following passages were, above all, remarkable.

"The dangers of the country are so imminent, that it is no longer permitted to keep silence. He who persists in not speaking, renders himself guilty of complicity in the evils which weigh upon the republic, and those which menace it.

"Yes, the country is in danger!—To delay any longer in proclaiming that afflicting truth, would be to repulse the means of saving it—if, after that proclamation, a special commission is charged to present us the measures of public safety.

"Let us cease to walk in the dark: let us advance with quick steps in the vast career which we have to run. *The safety of the people is the supreme law.*"

These passages, more particularly applauded by a formidable mass of the deputies, were also by the galleries in the most lively manner.

Jourdan finished by proposing the formation of a commission of nine members. It was that which they had determined upon obtaining at any price. Scarcely had the orator finished, when they decreed the impression of his speech in twelve copies, and demanded on all sides, with loud cries, a vote of urgency. Chenier appeared at the tribune, where at first he could not make himself heard. The deputies and the spectators had never evinced so much exultation. Unusual clamours, personal provocations, resounded on all sides. One half of the assembly cried, with furious gesticulations, *Put it to the vote: save the country.*—The other half cried with not less force, altogether, *Let Chenier speak.* Augereau sprang to the tribune, and endeavoured to support the motion of Jourdan; but he could not find words prompt enough, and the tumult increased to such a point, that the president covered his head to establish tranquillity. It was Boulai de la Meurthe. . . . He was one of those men who are not to be frightened; he had voted in the commission of seven with Chenier, Daunou, and myself, against Jourdan, and he maintained with firmness the liberty of discussion, that they wanted to stifle by cries and menaces. After a quarter of an hour of disorder, Chenier replied to Jourdan.

"The proposition that is made to you," said he, "is of so much importance, that it demands the most profound attention. I am about to combat it, and I shall support myself upon the authority of the past, upon the conduct even of our predecessors. It was the legislative assembly which, in 1792, declared the country in danger. What was then our position? There existed a conspiring throne to destroy! Our armies, feeble and ill-exercised, were commanded by generals named in the centre even of the conspiracy. I appeal to the sincerity of all my colleagues—what comparison can be established between our situation in June, 1792, and

that in which we are at this time ? An evil too real exists at this moment. It is the want of confidence and the power of calumny. I know that they talk of a treaty concluded with the king, of a project to re-establish a monarchical constitution ! But, like me, without doubt, you will not put any faith in such reports : you will not pronounce so lightly against the veterans of 1789, in favour of those modern enthusiasts. No, it is not upon the evidence of such men that you will give way to unjust suspicions."

They interrupted the orator with murmurs, and by recalling the question.

" I am in the question," he replied, with more warmth than ever—" The measure taken in 1792 is not applicable to our epoch, because the dangers are not the same ; because then a just mistrust was a duty, and at this moment confidence is a necessary virtue ; because at that time a perjured king conspired, and that to-day the republican magistrates hold by your suffrages the reins of the executive power."

Upon this short and feeble discourse of Chenier, Lamarque replied by an harangue, prepared like that of Jourdan, and in which the vehemence did not exclude the adroitness. The proclamation of the dangers of the country, and the nomination of a commission of public safety, being only, according to him, but auxiliary means to aid the government. He terminated by crying out, "*Liberty or Death!*" The assembly, electrified, rose altogether in repeating this cry. The effect produced by Lamarque had alarmed us, and I spoke in the following terms :

" In terminating his discourse, the last speaker calls for *Liberty or Death*. A movement of unanimous approbation has been manifested among us. I will also repeat those admirable words, *Liberty or Death* ! It is here that liberty would find, if required, her last asylum. . . Here the suffrages and the opinions are free ; and whatever may be your deliberation, no one will suppose that the violence of which this place has been the theatre, would give to your vote a contrary direction to your real sentiments. No, the excesses to which they have abandoned themselves have not influenced you in any way—fear and weakness are far from our arms. He who could yield to those vulgar sentiments, would be unworthy to sit here."

(A crowd of the deputies cried : " Yes, yes ; speak—speak.")

" The motion of our colleague Jourdan has been presented to the commission of seven. I combated it at that commission. I ought and I will combat it at this tribune.

" Representatives of the people, at the crisis in which we find ourselves, there is no longer any thing to dissimulate. It is necessary to explain ourselves with frankness ; this sitting must show what you desire."

(Fresh interruptions from our adversaries informed me that I was in the right road.)

"Our intentions are the same without doubt : we all desire to save the republic ; but we differ in the means of saving it. To find the best, we must seek after them with calmness—we must regulate the discussion, instead of endeavouring to stifle it. We must enlighten ourselves by a mutual tolerance. We must renounce on both sides, imaginary inquietudes. What union can you hope for among the people, when their representatives give them such an example ? But I come to the point.

" You want to save the republic—two means are offered to you.

" Some desire the declaration that the country is in danger, the permanence of the councils, the call for a new federation, and, above all, a commission of public safety more active. Others, under the circumstances in which we find ourselves, fear that all extraordinary measures may be fatal. I think like the last. I declare that I see to-day no safety for France, but in an intimate union between the first authorities. A state that is sharply menaced at the exterior, and torn in the interior by armed factions, cannot be saved but by an energetic power, to which all constitutional latitude is assured.

" Yes, in our position, we must augment the strength of the executive power, *or we must change it.* There is no medium : out of one or the other of these two parties, you would have nothing left to do, but to accumulate to yourselves all the powers. . . . *Is it there that the safety of the republic is to be seen?*"

(At these words a violent agitation manifested itself in the council. I had put my finger in the wound.)

" Despotism, say you ! The dictatorship ! Who would offer it ? Who would dare to accept it ? There exists then among us very cruel mistrusts. The shame of that proposition, the infamy of that yoke, would they find here one single man who would not arm against them with the sword of Brutus ? But I have only spoken of the dictatorship to reply to those who made use of that word to interrupt me. It is in vain that they would put me aside from the question ; I despise the clamours, and I do not fear menaces. I shall say all I think.

" I will say, that when the enemy is at the gates, if there is an imperious necessity for the true friends of the country, it is that of union. Shall I recall to you the example of the ancient republics ? In the common danger the resentments were suspended. In England—(must that nation be cited to the French to seek examples of wisdom ?)—in England there is no longer any discord when the land is menaced by the enemy—parties are then at an end. Par-

liamentary opposition sustained the principles of our revolution against a dominating ministry. We threaten Ireland, and suddenly Pitt and Fox are of accord. They are no longer rivals, but fellow-citizens marching against the invaders of their country. Well, then, representatives, with us also safety is in the union. Instead of thinking of changing the system, we ought to-day to concentrate all the means of strength in the government; we should lavish all upon it.

"There is but one case where we must follow another road. If the government appears to you to be guilty of treason, or you think it unqualified, then there is nothing to be done but to judge and punish it, and above all replace it. But, indeed, I do not see with what serious reproach you can accuse the executive power. I have not disguised my opinion against the ex-directors—I have contributed to their fall. . . . I should act in the same manner, if they deserved it, against their successors.

"Permit me to inform you, that there is in the republic an authority, which, to save the state, we ought to imitate—the calm, energetic, and constitutional attitude. If we had followed the example of the council of ancients, our dangers would have perhaps been less great.

"As for the reaction which they talk of, the directory has taken every means to repress it. It is far from my intention to justify any reaction; all are culpable and fatal, but without action there is no reaction . . . and it is the action which in the first place it would have been wise to prevent.

"The necessity of giving a great latitude to the executive power, in the public dangers, is so evident, that those who would themselves to-day overturn the directory, would be obliged to-morrow to re-establish one stronger. Ought not our predecessors to have obeyed that necessity? Was it not to that to which the committee of the convention owed its power, famous for so many prodigies and so many horrible evils? Of what use, in fact, would a government be that was powerless? What good would an authority be to which contempt was attached, and that they could dare insult with impunity, even beneath the walls of its palace." (Murmurs.)

"Those murmurs which interrupt me again, strike agreeably my ear. *No one, they tell me, will overturn the directory!* . . . I trust that no person has such an intention. . . . But, representatives of the people, do you not see that the system which they propose to you, would soon mislead you, in spite of yourselves, beyond all constitutional limits? The measures of permanence, of federation, of dangers proclaimed, of commissions of public safety—are good, excellent, when they want to destroy that which exists, overturn a power of which they despair. No one will pretend that they are the means of union and concord; and it is concord and union of which we are in need.

"With an executive power like ours, (I demand of all my colleagues—ought it to expose us to the terrible chances of a revolutionary authority, rather than unite around the constitutional authority,) what have we to fear from the directory? It represses with a firm hand the royalists and the men of the Rue du Bac Well, then, far from accusing it, let us return it our thanks. In putting a stop to the reunion which served as a den for the factious, it has done its duty; for the deposite of the constitution is also confided to the government. I do not mean in expressing myself thus, to condemn political societies; but I approve of them only contained within the limits of the law, and submitted to the inspection of the government. Let us beware more than ever to-day of yielding to the revolutionary temptation. Since no one will, as in Praireal, overturn the directory, let us fortify it by our confidence, and cease to listen to the fables of royal treason, attributed to the most illustrious republicans. It is after the considerations which I have submitted to you, that your commission of seven has rejected the propositions of our colleague Jourdan. If they confine themselves to the declaration that the country is in danger that declaration alone would produce nothing. If it was the prelude to extraordinary measures, it would only increase our dangers. I demand to move the previous question."

The marks of approbation given to my speech appeared to presage us a victory. The Deputies Quirot and Lamarque supported the motion of Jourdan. Daunou and the President Boulai de la Meurthe combated it. The Jacobin party beheld the hope vanish which to them had appeared certain; and notwithstanding those new violences, the discussion was adjourned to the next day.

Barras perceived at length that he had nothing to hope, and that he had been wrong in retarding the deposing of the minister of War. He united with Sièyes and Roger Ducos; they addressed to Bernadotte a dismission that he had not asked for, and replaced him by the General Millet Mureau. They changed also the central administration of Paris, and held themselves in readiness for the events of the next day.

The news of these deposings troubled the Jacobins. The crowds assembled round our palace, which, although composed of the men of the manège and the Fauxbourgs, had not that assurance which the sentiment of superiority gives. . . In going to the assembly we traversed those disconcerted groups, and several among us reproached them severely for their temerity, and recommended them to disperse: some threats, notwithstanding, were uttered, and some deputies were insulted. "We will save the country in spite of you," they cried on all sides upon our passage. Applauses unworthy of him broke out at the sight of Jourdan, whom the

deposing of Bernadotte had exasperated. Renouncing all moderation with them, and scarcely in his place, he cried,

"While you deliberate, they depose Bernadotte and Le Febvre : (the last was not true.) I wish to believe that these changes are not the prelude of a coup d'etat. If that was true, let us swear that they should never take us from our curule chairs till after they had given us death."

This oath was pronounced by the whole assembly standing. Jourdan was desirous of taking advantage of this movement, and he again proposed the permanence. The public galleries resounded with the most violent acclamations. The president called to order with severity. Augereau then made himself heard to pronounce a eulogy upon the 18th Fructidor, which he had directed, and to declare that the actual situation not being the same, the national representation was inviolable. I repeated the declaration of Augereau, and I recalled the council to the question—"We must be also inviolable against a coup d'etat, as against the crowds whose unworthy clamours we hear from here. As far as these, we are all of accord ; and this unanimous sentiment ought not to influence in the least our decision. Let the proposition of Jourdan be put to the vote." The council closed the discussion ; and after two trials, they proceeded in the most profound silence to the nominal call.—171 deputies voted for Jordan ; 245 voted against him. We had the advantage of them thus by 74 voices. The propositions were rejected, and the assembly rose. On quitting the hall, we again found crowds of the men of the manège, but the chiefs had disappeared.

That day, the 28th Fructidor, proved that new revolutionary experiments were odious to the majority of the directory, and to almost the whole of the council of ancients. It proved also that the population of Paris did not care to see the authority pass to the Luxembourg to the legislative palace. Sièyes, strong in the approbation of the people and their representatives, could give himself up to the hope of snatching the republic from the evils which oppressed it. Our success, however, had only depended upon a few votes. It was not sufficient to have avoided the abyss ; it was necessary also to secure ourselves in the future. We felt that inevitable necessity. The Jacobins had not concealed from us that they intended saving the republic without us and in spite of us. Every night there were secret reunions of the party whose exaltation was fearful. "If you are not beforehand with our adversaries," said they, "an insurrection in the Fauxbourgs will overthrow it. Although everybody talks about the constitution, no one has any longer the slightest confidence in it."

The question reduced, by the force of circumstances, to this dilemma—either let the Jacobins accomplish the change

or act against them : on both sides the conviction was profound. Jourdan and his friends thought they acted like good citizens, in concentrating the power in the council of five hundred, and in following the revolutionary route open already by the laws of the hostages and the forced loan. Their error was deplorable, but they had no more secret intentions or personal motives than we had ; they did not consider that the measures which had succeeded in 1793 were impracticable at that moment, because the mass of the people held those measures in horror. They did not see that the resources of the national domains no longer existed, and that in the impossibility of creating new assignats, it was necessary to have recourse to credit, to the public confidence, which trembled at the clamours of the manège, and at the idea even of the discussion of the permanence. They did not see, Jourdan above all, that to advance in that terrible route, notwithstanding the general animadversion, it was necessary to have recourse to terror, and that his probity condemned him beforehand to the scaffold, which would be set up in spite of him by the forced results of those principles to which he abandoned himself with the most fatal confidence. I renewed my efforts with Jourdan. If we could have united him with us, with several of his friends, I am convinced that the reform obtained without violence would for a long time have consolidated the republic. We offered freely to Jourdan for him to form a part of the new government ; a firmness of character, united to great gentleness of manners, rendered him more proper than any one to enter into the supreme magistrature.

But there was no conciliation possible. The division was complete ; the menaces of the Jacobins determined us to break with them ; the triumph of their opinions appeared to us to be the greatest danger of the country. The revolutionary exaggerations are in fact the most ordinary causes of the fall of republics.

An excess occasions a contrary excess. The Jacobins have almost always been the most useful promoters of royalty, as the flatterers of kings have been also often the blind promoters of the ~~best~~ public. This comparison is perfectly simple, since the demagogues are the flatterers of the multitude. But among those flatterers of the multitude, many of them are perfectly sincere. Without doubt they are equally as sincere as many courtiers, who, accustomed to contemplate their master through the prism of absolute power, finish by really admiring him, by almost even adoring him as a being of a superior nature. In the same manner, fascinated and intoxicated by the popular favour, many of the democrats, sincere at first, finish by suffering themselves to be carried away to commit crimes, even to murder. All fanatics resemble each other : those of the Jacobin sect,

those of the St. Barthelemy, those of the old man of the mountain, were all equally the prey of a moral phrensy. The most sincere are the most dangerous; they are infinitely more so than the troop of satellites who, without conviction to find food, hover like the crows over all the battle fields. When those wretches behold the victims fall on either side, whatever they may be, they precipitate upon them. One may neglect a moment those valets of all the powers, but as for the men of heart and faith, it is to them we should attach ourselves; and if we cannot convince and enlighten them, we must combat them without intermission when their fanaticism threatens to overturn society.

Penetrated with these truths, we decided on being beforehand with the Jacobins. We resolved upon changing to open hostilities our former circumspection, and to make the reform succeed at any price, of which they had spoken vaguely for some time past; and we exacted at length that Sièyes should no longer retard submitting to us the development of his constitutional ameliorations. It was then that he must have thought that the moment was arrived for his wise theories to be adopted. But France, although a republic for seven years past, was she really ripe for political liberty? The future has answered in the negative. But not one of us at that time—not one of us—foresaw the answer of the future.

The accusations of royalism, launched without ceasing against Sièyes, were complete calumnies. That statesman had only republican views. I think it my duty to pause here upon his project of reform, which belongs far more to him than the charter preferred by Napoleon, and voted by the French people. I shall terminate this first volume in pointing out the basis of that project of reform. I will show, in the second volume, how, upon the miraculous arrival of the hero, the national enthusiasm was entirely submitted to his magical influence; how that torrent, (too often without obstacle with a generous, warm-hearted, but changeable people,) after having carried away with it existing laws, projects of changes, even sanitary precautions, precipitated itself towards the dictatorship; how that dictatorship, the necessity of which was but too evident, but which ought at least to have been temporary, and placed out of the permanent law, was unfortunately incorporated in that law; how, at length, a conception sublime in the whole having been mutilated, was transformed, in spite of us, into an incomplete code, incoherent and very different from what Sièyes had proposed. . . . To each and every one his ideas and his work. *Saum cuique.*

Sièyes, from the moment of the establishment of the directorial charter, was persuaded that it was not likely to live: he did not partake of our illusions. We have already

said that he was so deeply penetrated with the faults of that charter that he would not accept of a place in the directory. He yielded afterwards to our entreaties, (in the year 7,) but in the hope of a legislative reform, desired by many of the deputies, all disposed to second it. These luminous communications made every day fresh adepts; and I glory in having been one of the most ardent. They established before all, the necessity of concentrating the executive power, of replacing the five directors, elected for five years, and not re-elective—by three consuls elected for ten years, and re-elective. At that epoch there was no question of a great elector of the republic. It was after the return from Egypt and for Napoleon, that the supreme magistrature was proposed and so ill received. I find nothing in my notes relative to it, before the year 8. The three consuls of Sièyes were to be equal in rights; and the annual presidency to be exercised in turn by each of them. There was no question then, either of a tribunal or, above all, of a mute legislative body!!! But let us proceed in order in exposing the basis of the primitive project of Brumaire.

1st. The Division of the three Powers.

The legislative powers, executive and judicial, should be, as far as possible, independent of each other, and always serve reciprocally as a barrier; without the division of those powers there is no political liberty. Their re-union constitutes despotism. In this sense the conventional government was of the same sort as that of Louis XIV, and the republican government was the most despotic of the two, since the powers were more concentrated in the great assembly, than in the great king. The parliaments, the clergy, the provincial states, were poor barriers for him who said—*I am the state* But the convention had no barriers of any sort.

2d. Division of the Legislative Power.

The division of three powers is then to assure our liberty. Let us apply that theory, and seek for the equilibrium of those powers. We shall find ourselves stopped by the immense preponderance of one of the two. What equilibrium can be established between him who makes the laws, and those who execute them. That which is out of all proportion, can never be put in proportion, except in being weakened; that is to say, by being divided. It is then the great power, the sole, which vigorously merits the name. It is the legislative power which should be divided to avoid despotism, and here we are brought by the application to separate the formation of the laws of their sanction. Here we are brought to the necessity of two chambers.

3d. Elective Chamber—Universal Suffrage—Direct and Indirect Popular Censure.

All society is composed of individuals who are proprietors, and others who are not. It carries, then, with itself two opposite wants, that of movement and that of stability. Those who find themselves well off, desire to remain as they are; those who are bad off, desire to change their position. That double state of human society, such as God has made it, exacts imperiously the same state in the legislation. One of the two chambers, representative of the movement, ought to be elective and frequently renewed. The other chamber, representative of stability, ought to be immovable. To the first belongs the proposition and the compiling of the projects of law; to the second belongs the sanction or the rejection of those projects. These two chambers, to constitute a good government, should be equally powerful; and each of them to be powerful, should lean upon its principle, and be endowed with all the strength derived from it.

The elective principle being that of the chamber of the movement, let us examine this principle. The exercise of the rights of each ought not to be limited but for the general interest; and all the members of a society possess in principle the same rights. The universal suffrage is then the rule, and the restriction to that rule can only be the exception. That exception would be then tyrannical, if it is not indispensable. For every man may usefully, without inconvenience and without difficulty, vote in his primary assembly to choose the public functionaries of his commune. Those functions touch very nearly the interests, the welfare, and the safety of each inhabitant, rich or poor. Those inhabitants all know one another; they are then capable of choosing amongst them, those who merit their confidence. They should all then co-operate in this choice. The universal suffrage, direct in the commune, is then just and suitable; and there is no reasonable motive for depriving any one whatever.

Besides that justice of universal suffrage is felt by all, since the periodical papers have carried the declarations of the rights of man and of the citizen, even to the lowest ranks of the non-proprietors. In our social state, many then may still be in want of bread; but no one can be in want of political aliment to irritate his hunger . . . The accession, therefore, to the affairs of the country is become a necessity of our epoch; and as long as that necessity is not satisfied, the revolution will not be appeased. The human mind marches towards this end, and it will attain it in spite of all the obstacles. That consideration of the fact, is still more decisive for the legislator than the evidence of the right. The political emancipation having become an

universal instinct, if they feel a repugnance for it, they must resign themselves if they wish to re-constitute something durable . . . If not to the irresistible interrogation, of *what is the third estate?*—will soon succeed the interrogation, not less irresistible, what is the non-proprietor?

And indeed, if we study the annals of the European civilization, we shall read upon the brightest page of ancient history, that inscription of christianism—*Liberty of the slaves!* The brightest page of intermediate history offers that inscription of philosophy, *enfranchisement of the serfs!*—and at the end of the last century, the contemporary history inscribed in its turn upon the brightest page, *emancipation of the non-proprietors!* That third idea, emitted without a palliative in the code of Condorcet, but immediately effaced under the blood and the dirt of 1793, was revived, and wisely put in practice by the legislators of Brumaire. It traversed in silence the empire and the restoration. It arises to-day more powerful and more ripe Glory to the government sufficiently enlightened to preside with courage over this third development of religion and philosophy. I will here treat of that great question of the political rights to be accorded to the non-proprietors, and refute, article by article, the 9th and 10th Chapters of a work entitled “The two Years Reign,” by Alphonse Pepin. But I will refer that refutation to my second volume, where it will naturally be brought by my legislative discussions, upon the lists of notability. Let us be contented in observing to-day that until Brumaire, notwithstanding all the declarations of the rights they had been fearful of granting, the right of citizenship to the poorest and most numerous classes, they had confined themselves to enfranchising the burghers of the town and country in exacting a quit-rent of several days' work, or revenue of several hundreds of pounds. Instead of equally fortifying the two chambers, they had equally weakened them, in admitting to the democratic election but a minority of the society, and in leaving the conservative chamber without means of resistance against that bastard democracy. Our divers essays of electoral cense, renewed since, and more or less enlarged, are equally insufficient; for the question is not the imitating the emancipation of such or such a class; but to dare to generalize it, and to know how to do it, without overturning. It is in that view, that after having consecrated the direct exercise of the universal suffrage in the commune, we submitted that exercise out of the commune to several degrees of delegation. As soon as it was necessary to name them to functions that included a district, a department, the whole republic, we established the necessity of modifying the principle. How, in that case, could they, without inconvenience, apply the universal, direct suffrage? How should

five or six millions of men understand one another sufficiently to exercise this right without intermediates? How should citizens, the greatest part of whom have never been out of their district, make a good choice beyond the limits where their habitudes retain them? Can they know the aptness of such or such a citizen for the high places of the administration, of the judicature, of the elected chamber? . . . The greatest part of those voters have, most probably, never seen the candidates, and perhaps scarcely heard speak of them . . . Experience as well as reflection shows that direct voting in such a case would be difficult and dangerous. Here the exception becomes applicable. Society will find the utility and convenience of delegating its power to electors; and the universal suffrage, direct in the commune, would be indirect (more or less) for the high functions.

Indirect for the high functions, I grant it. But all the citizens, without exception, should delegate this right of suffrage, and all can receive the delegation . . . all . . . admitting the smallest cense, is to acknowledge two nations in one nation. When two people, enemies, the Franks and the Gauls, inhabited Gaul, the feudal legislation only confirmed the existing fact. But to-day, that the existing fact is the unity, is it not absurd to seek to destroy that unity by the legislation of the electoral cense?

The indirect suffrage is the more perfect, being nearer to the direct suffrage from whence it springs. If the electors are constrained to choose the high functionaries among themselves, it is evident that the delegation would be less absolute. For that restriction, the electors chosen by all, and amongst them, would be at the same time the delegates and the candidates of the direct universal suffrage. After these popular considerations, Sièyes established;

1st. That each primary assembly, composed of every Frenchman that was of age, should choose in its bosom a tenth of its number as *notables of the commune*. It should then choose, amidst those notables, the public functionaries of that commune.

2d. The notables of all the communes of a district, united in the chief place of the under-prefecture, should name the tenths amongst them as notables of the district; they should afterward choose in this tenth the public functionaries of that district.

3d. The notables of all the districts of a department united in the chief place of the prefecture, should name amongst them the tenth of their number as notables of the department. They should then choose in this tenth the public functionaries of the department.

4th. The re-union of all the lists of notables of the departments (arising to nearly six thousand names) would form

the great national list, in which they should choose the members of the tribunal of cassation, the deputies, the senators, and the consuls.

Here, then, is the system which they have denied, calumniated and misconstrued! That was, they said, very complicated. Without doubt, nothing is more complicated than real liberty in a great society accustomed to servitude. Put, in requital, nothing is more simple than the despotism of a man, or of an assembly.

Have they at least established some better system than our universal suffrage, direct and indirect? What have they discovered after thirty-six years of experience, of criticisms, of doctrines and polished pleadings? They have found a cense to be eligible, and a cense to be an elector! That is to say, to combine the interests of the proprietors and the non-proprietors!!! And they flatter themselves, that in excluding from the forum the majority of the nation, to have triumphed over the difficulty . . . They have done nothing but thus perpetuate the trouble and discontentment, and that state of sickly transition has no other term possible than the *electoral reform*.

Some adversaries of the lists of notables of Brumaire, have said that these lists disinherited the people. But six millions of men voted them in the primary assemblies, and they delegated only, but in a limited manner, a part of their right of suffrage to six hundred thousand notables, electors and candidates of the universality of the French people; and now it is not the universality, but only a part of the population, which scarcely names two hundred thousand electors! Our system of notability was then far more popular than all your electoral systems. The senate, they say, chose the high functionaries and the deputies That prerogative was but momentary; it was to diminish and expire as soon as the people were accustomed, and had an affection for the exercise of those rights of election. Such was the plan of Sièyes. The universal suffrage direct was to extend with favorable circumstances; in short, that the republican manners taken root amongst us, the primary assemblies, or at least the notables of the communes, could have named progressively the functionaries of the district and the department. As for the deputies, we left, for a time, their choice to the senate, that the legislative authority, in the first age of the consular charter, was reserved for the men equally opposed to royalism and democracy. The choice of the senate could not, moreover, fall but upon the notables of the department; that is to say, upon the candidates of the people. But with time the right of electing the deputies might pass successively from the senate to the six thousand notables of the departments, and then to the sixty

thousand notables of the districts ; then at length to the six hundred thousand notables of the communes.

The people, moreover, even at the beginning of the organization, exercised really an universal censure upon all the public functionaries, which modified wisely the right of delegation of the divers degrees of notability, as well as the temporary prerogative of the senate, an important consideration, which has passed away amidst us almost unperceived. In effect, every three years the primary assemblies renewed the lists of six hundred thousand communal notables. The public functions could only be filled by those who were maintained upon those lists ; it followed that every Frenchman had not only the right of direct suffrage in his commune, but that he had also, every three years, the right of direct censure upon the public men of all degrees. We have already said that the great concessions made to the democracy would be progressively increased ; but such as they were, it was still an immense progress ; it was a political liberty superior to that of the constitution of the year 3, and many other constitutions.

Thus, (if I may be permitted to repeat it,) six millions of citizens, naming in a direct manner the functionaries of their communes, choosing six hundred thousand notables, all, at the same time, electors and candidates for the other functions ; and every Frenchman, whose name was not preserved upon those triennial lists of popular candidates, became ineligible for all magistrature. Thus the question of the universal suffrage applied to a great and old society, was decided in the most satisfactory manner. I hope that the constitutional future, which approaches for all the people, will appreciate better than our contemporaries have done, that wise institution of our great civilian. In France, above all, the political education has made too great a progress, for some years past, for the electoral reform not to bring about very shortly the universal voting of several degrees.

4th.—Unremovable Chamber—Personal Aristocracy—Senatorial Absorption.

The chamber which represents the necessity of stability, should be unremovable. The maintenance of the existing order being especially confided, it must be at all times powerful, and more powerful after a popular revolution, where the opinions, having impetuously wandered even to the end of the democratical descent, have far outmarched the point where they should have stopped. Immediately after these profound struggles, the legislator, to reorganize society, should give a motion to the conservative power, an action so much the greater, the power being in momentary dis-

credit. That action can only spring from the attribution given it by the constitution, or from great riches, the influence of which may, to a certain point, make up for the law. We are not ignorant, that a magistrature of great proprietors, (without being hereditary, as it ought to be in a moderate monarchy,) but only during life, and seated upon a very high raised cense, would have been a good combination for the high chamber of our republic ; there were no longer in France but very few great proprietors, and they were almost all of them hostile to the new regime. That element of order, not being at our disposal, we could not supply it but in augmenting the attributions of the conservative body. This is the reason why Sièyes proposed to confide so much power to the senate. The sanction of the laws, the nomination of the senators and consuls, and the supreme right of absorbing the consuls, was to form the permanent attribution of the unremovable chamber, the election of the deputies and the high functionaries was its provisory attribution. So much authority was not more than was requisite for this patriciate of the republic during life, which might resist the executive power always invading, and to the democratic chamber still very unquiet. Nevertheless, that patrician magistrature sprang also from the popular election, sole source of legitimate powers, since its members, like the consuls, were taken exclusively in the list of the six thousand notables of the departments, to which every Frenchman might arrive by the confidence alone of his fellow-citizens. The senators were also ineligible for every other public function, that they might not have any personal advantage to expect from the government.

Notwithstanding so many attributions, was the senate in a condition to guarantee the republic from the ambition of the executive power ? . . . A government of three magistrates, re-eligible every ten years, substituted for five magistrates elected only for five years, who could not be re-elected, appeared still to be a great deal too strong for many suspicious minds. Sièyes hesitated whether or not to limit the authority of the consuls to five years ; but it appeared preferable to him, not to limit too much the time, and to establish a repression always existing for cases of public danger. Although the consulate; totally a stranger to the legislative and judiciary powers, had only the number three, in common with the Roman triumvirate, it was quite evident that it was there that most probably some day might spring forth tyranny. It was then against that probability, above all, that the legislator was right in directing the conservative power.

In some ancient states, and in the middle age, they banished the citizens whose power they feared.—Ostracism, *exile ob nimiam potestatem*, had appeared the sole remedy

against that mortal malady of the republics ; but ostracism had two faults, which balanced the advantages. 1st, It was in the highest degree unjust, since it punished an influence acquired perhaps by civic virtues. Not only did it deprive the state of Aristides and Themistocles, but it inflicted on Aristides and Themistocles the most cruel and the longest torture of human life. . . . Exile. . . . Exile . . . without a term . . . far from one's country. The fear of suffering that horrible torment, might it not precipitate a feeble mind into the career of usurpation? . . . If any thing could ever excuse tyranny and civil war, was it not the terrible sword of exile, suspended over the head of a citizen sufficiently illustrious to excite envy. The injustice of ostracism went evidently in that respect against the aim of the legislator.

2d, Ostracism, punishment imposed without judgment, was it at least imposed by an authority calm, enlightened and deliberate? On the contrary, it was the crowd who pronounced in the agitation of the forum, always open to the poison of hatred, to the prejudices of the moment, to the seductions of intrigue. The multitude condemned without appeal—the areopagus was powerless.

How, then, ameliorate ostracism? How preserve this heroic remedy of the republics in stripping it of its injustice, and in giving to those victims of glory a guarantee against the caprices of envy? Sièyes proposed confiding the right of absorption to the same body who sanctioned the laws, and whose unremovability, high position, and interest of conservation, rendered more useful and less dangerous the exercise of an extraordinary censure. By this right of absorption the senate could absorb; that is to say, call into its own bosom the consul who appeared dangerous to the liberty of the republic. The consul absorbed, ceased at the same moment his functions, and became *ipso facto* member of the senate. The statesman suspected was not thus condemned to drag on the remainder of his life far from his countrymen; he was only reduced to yield to another the post he occupied. He had not to choose between revolt and torment, of which the ministers and deputies, quietly seated at their domestic hearths, do not all appear to understand the cruelty. If the suspicions of the senate were just the absorption saved the state, and preserved from crime him who was about to commit it. If the suspicions were unjust . . . the absorbed quitted only his place for another, and he found himself seated for the rest of his days upon the curule chair. Certainly such an ostracism had no longer any thing odious in it. Sièyes had completely, admirably resolved the problem.

But the absorption could deprive the republic of the services of a great citizen in the government: a republic does not know any necessary man.

It is, without doubt, superfluous to repeat here, that I speak of the project of reform that Sièyes had meditated, that we had approved of with a profound enthusiasm, and that he would have given to France if he had been sufficiently powerful to have done it. A part of these ideas were preserved in the constitution of the year 8; but what is a system disjointed and divided on all sides? It is sufficient for one single article to be omitted or added to spoil the whole. The conservative senate, deprived of its right of absorption, was only able to preserve itself. What shall we say of the senators called, against the fundamental principle of their institution, to all the first employments of the government? . . . I will only speak here, then, of the primitive project; the modification of that project will occupy us hereafter.

Without the return of Napoleon, would our republican reform have succeeded? . . . Probably we should have been overcome by the party of Jourdan. I think that this unexpected return preserved France from a repetition of the terror, which Jourdan and several of his friends would have in vain attempted to moderate. There were more chances against us than for us; but the fear of a new revolutionary government merited that we should expose our heads . . . We should only have kept them a few days longer if the times of 1793 had returned!

It is very probable that our reform would not have succeeded, precisely in consequence of what was the best of it—the senatorial supremacy. A body clothed with so much power, was too repugnant to the prevailing opinion, to that vague and exaggerated horror of the aristocracy—miserable prejudice which opposed, as it opposes still, to the amelioration of our political institutions. They dared then, still less than they dare now, brave the unpopularity which is attached to the idea of a patrician. But let not good citizens persist in confounding, in one common reprobation, the feudal aristocracy and the patrician magistrature. When a conquering people, despoilers of a conquered people, organize a feodality, which, separating the two races in masters and slaves, assure to one all the rights, and to the other all the servitudes, such a regime, terrible abuse of strength, profound line of demarcation, dug by the sword between two people, is an odious tyranny, against which the oppressed cannot lance too many maledictions. That hereditary aristocracy, born of the violences of the conquest, even was it modified as in England, was it even with time sufficiently identified with the public liberties to have become their most solid guarantee, it is natural to suppose, notwithstanding that transformation, that a republican state would repulse all hereditary privileges of tribes and families. But a patrician and personal magistrature is quite of

another nature ; it is indispensable, as an intermediate and conservative body, to every liberal government ; without that magistrature, equally placed out of the movement of the administration, and out of the movement of popular election, the government would soon become absolute, whether it was in the democratic body or not. Besides, without repeating here what the civilians of all times have said, in all languages, let us content ourselves with observing the contradictions which those demagogical theories present, and their application. The progress, they say, consists in the absence of all aristocratical principles in political equality ! But where is, then, that society without aristocracy, without political inequalities ? Between the chief and the crowd there must be necessarily secondary chiefs. What that reunion of secondary chiefs receives of power, is favorable to the public liberties, since that power is detached from those of the government. If it is not a senate which you place between the chief and the people, you will have a camarilla of courtiers who will place themselves. You may prefer the aristocracy of the valets to that of the political magistrates ; you may confide the choice to a *bureaucratic*, ever servile, (the most hideous of all intermediate authorities,) sooner than to an unremovable body of independent men. But notwithstanding all, at length an aristocracy, hereditary or personal, independent or servile, has governed, governs, and will govern human societies. Among the savages, the strongest, those who have killed the most enemies, and the oldest of the tribe, are they not the aristocrats of the desert ? In the United States, do not the elective privileges consecrate the aristocracy of money ? And is it not also by the most hideous irregularity, that in several states of that fine country they do not yet treat as their fellow-beings the fellow-citizen, the Christian in whom there remains the smallest trace of the proscribed color ? And with us, those who pay the cense of elector and eligibility, do not they belong to the privileged classes ? Is it equality for two hundred thousand citizens to be over six millions of Frenchmen ? And can they, in such a state, vaunt of having known how to conciliate the monarchy with liberty and equality, without resembling those Roman Augurs, whose greatest merit consisted when they encountered each other in public, was the being able to keep a serious countenance.

In the project of Sièyes, the aristocratic element had been reduced to its best republican expression ; it had been popularized ; it neither supported itself entirely upon great property still hostile, nor upon industry exposed to too many chances to be a solid basis ; nor even upon knowledge, which is not always the friend of order : but it supported itself upon a strength to which knowledge, industry,

and property contributed at the same time. It was supported upon the general confidence manifested at several periods. To arrive at their high positions, the great notables of the departments were to exhaust all the degrees of election ; and that new basis of influence was more solid, and, above all, more liberal, than all the rest, since it did not admit of the privileges of the burghers ; a larger privilege, and, in consequence, less odious, than that of the ancient noblesse, but which, however, does not accord any better with the declaration of the rights. Even in the constitution of Brumaire, such as it was modified and voted, there were six millions of citizens over six millions of Frenchmen ; for, rich or poor, all had the right of suffrage. If since, by successive *peblicites*, (decrees of the people,) they have perverted all, who is to blame ? You and your fathers, who would have it so ; but not to those who desired other things, nor to those to whom you reproach the imperial monarchy with as much injustice as if you reproached the constitution of '93 to the constituents of 1789 ; not to those who renounced not their dream of a wise, senatorial, and consular republic, until after the repeated expression of the national will, really and sincerely manifested. That will, precipitating itself afresh toward the hereditary system, and precipitating solely from horror of Jacobinism, left to sensible minds no other aim to obtain but intermediate institutions proportionate to royalty, and sufficiently strong to moderate it. Every Frenchman, in resigning himself to the sovereign vote of France, accomplishes a sacred duty. Some men of Brumaire had, without doubt, more than resignation But honour to those who have retired or resigned without baseness.

But might it not be said, upon hearing some pamphleteers, that amongst our adversaries of St. Cloud, amongst the most ardent Jacobins, there was not one who had rallied around the monarchy ? But not to speak except of the most illustrious, Jourdan de Fleurus was subject of the emperor and marshal of the empire ! Bernadotte did not withdraw either before the name of subject in France, any more than before a foreign sceptre ! And Lafayette ! . . . Is it a republic or a monarchy which sprung from the dictatorship of July, 1830 ? . . . It is true, that, notwithstanding the contrary opinion of Manuel and Benjamin Constant, they hastened to render the peerage during for life, without doubt to make it more on a par with hereditary royalty, in order to enable it more capable of resisting the executive power. And it is thus only that they have arrived at transforming that high chamber into provostal commissions, to the great scandal of the French and other nations. . . . The theories of Brumaire, I honestly confess, were progressive in another sense. Mirabeau, whose opinions were become conservative the day after the storm, said, that the silence of Sièyes

was a public calamity . . . We could have said with as much truth, that it was an irreparable *calamity for the republicans*, that the inability to which Sièyes was reduced to cause his senatorial reform to be adopted in the majority of the council of five hundred, as he had done in the council of ancients.

What books, notwithstanding the works of falsehood, of hatred, or frivolity, calumniate the intentions, confound the epochs, and disfigure the history!—"Look," they say, "at the despotism of the empire, the wars without end, the invasion of France. It is Sièyes, it is the men of Brumaire, who are responsible for all that." But if you will attribute to us the fault of the empire, notwithstanding our absence, is it not just, by way of compensation, to attribute to us also a part of its glory? Ah! who, in that case, would refuse being bound? The empire! . . . But in what century, under what regime, was France greater, more glorious, more prosperous? Who is the Frenchman, liberal or Carlist, blue or Vendean, who would efface from our history the glorious records of the empire? Where is there, amidst the thirty millions of French hearts, that which does not beat with patriotic pride in thinking of the days of the empire? He must be seized with a vertigo, who would attempt to appropriate to himself the least in the world so many wonders to which he had not the happiness of contributing; but it would be rather too philosophical to suffer the errors or the wrongs to be imputed to which one had not contributed.

Besides, although a stranger to the good or ill of the empire, may I not be permitted to reply to him who finds the *ashes of Napoleon very well placed at St. Helena*, and to those who, like him, like to see only spots in the sun? Napoleon, without doubt, was not infallible. Spain and Russia attacked at the same time; Poland and Italy awaiting in vain their deliverance; the chief of religion persecuted, after having crowned the elect of the people—have not drawn reproaches without some appearance of truth. And yet, what a series of adverse combinations there needed to change into disaster the victorious campaign of Russia! If the inconceivable peace of Bucharest—that fault so capital and so improbable, from which the Porte will never again, perhaps, arise—had not sent behind us a new Russian army, or that the allied corps of Austria had held it in respect; if a Norman prince, born a Frenchman, after having at first defended with justice the interests of his adoptive country, had stopped at the cries of distress of three hundred thousand Frenchmen, struck with the most dreadful scourge; if the freezing cold had not commenced a month sooner than ordinary; if the flames, kindled by hands patriotically, heroically, barbarous, had not devoured Moscow conquered . . . and Napoleon had found general peace, maritime peace, in those deserts of disastrous

memory . . . then France—Europe—posterity—would not have found sufficient languages to celebrate the Russian war . . . and the powers of the continent and England would not at this moment look at Greece, Egypt, and the Bosphorus, with so much anxiety.

As for Spain, after twenty years of wars and discord, where is she now? She is agitated by the convulsions of the most barbarous reprisals. She struggles in blood and tears to obtain that which the convention of Bayonne assured her, whatever might have been the means employed on another account to unite her. The equality of civil rights, the reform of the convents, the suppression of the inquisition, our civil code, our admirable administrative system, our liberal institutions, our public instruction, all that Spain still seeks,—all was in the laws of Bayonne; all was guarantied by the accepted king, acknowledged by the convention, by a just king, enlightened, and a philosopher. I have seen many Spanish statesmen in my sad travels, far from my country; and how many I have heard bitterly deplore that the throne of the King Joseph had not been consolidated! Nothing, without doubt, can justify violence. Liberty itself, at the point of the foreign sword, would become hateful . . . But, after all, the torrent of invasion would have retired; and the fertile earth, deposed by its waves, would have rendered the peninsula fruitful, *since twenty years!*

Poland!—could it be constituted when Austria and Prussia, in arms, were at the head of our allies? Moreover, that nation, whom all generous men bear in their heart: did she, during the Russian campaign, do all that she could have done to hasten the hour of her independence? Has she not had in her own bosom partisans of Alexander? Did Poland, in fine, demonstrate that intense degree of universal energy, that wonderful enthusiasm, displayed by Spain and Russia? The Emperor Napoleon, in the second Polish war, ought he to have done more? Could he do more, without imprudence? If he had done it, would they not have accused him with having provoked, like a madman, in the middle of a mortal crisis, the defection of Vienna and Berlin?

Italy!—the Pope!—Napoleon himself expressed his tardive regrets. He was very far from believing himself to be perfect. Have we not heard him at Paris talk of his limited faculties? The wisest of the ancients said, “*I know that I know nothing.*” The greatest of moderns said, “Do you believe me to be more than a man?” . . . It is the same cry, precious emanation of the same soul, although uttered by two men, at two thousand years of distance.

Before this avowal so ingenuously sublime of human imperfection, how wretched is the pride of those state sophists, whose superb theory, without ceasing to think itself infallible, terminates with the most sad results! No: the emperor

was not, and did not believe himself to be, above the common errors of humanity: and yet none ever abused less an absolute power; none had a more prodigious genius than he; none ever accomplished such vast deeds in so short a space of time; none, above all, ever better loved his country.

As for the reproaches of despotism and usurpation, France and its government have made the most glorious of answers, an answer without reply. They have inaugurated the statue of the emperor. His detractors do not see how far their accusations are contradicted by public opinion. Let them endeavour to explain to us—to explain to themselves, how a great nation (without it was senseless) could have raised a triumphant monument *to a despot—to a usurper—fifteen years after his death!!!* It is that France does not confound, like them, a popular dictatorship with despotism. It is because France knows too well her rights, to be ignorant that the temporary consul, the consul for life, the emperor named three times by the universal voting, was the most legitimate chief of all times and all countries.

Can they think that, since the inauguration of the imperial statue, the opinion of France has changed? But the representative chamber has just confirmed that opinion by her last vote. Would it reclaim from the other end of the world the ashes of a despot . . . of a usurper . . . *fifteen years after his death?* It is true that they still persist in proscribing the family of the hero whose remains they claim! May the vote, at least, not be disdained in that which it possesses of favourable! May its prompt accomplishment console us in our exile, where the winds of France sometimes bring us some accents of sympathy! General Pelet, the worthy historian of the campaigns of Napoleon, has refuted the reproach of an immeasurable ambition. Monsieur de Golbery has signalized, amidst the petitioners who have not forgotten us, the illustrious names of Massena, of Lannes, of Ney, that recall so many victories! M. de Brecqueville has declared that it was not the emperor who betrayed the country in the hundred days. Monsieur Manguin has celebrated the hero of national independence, whose wandering family is a living trophy of our disasters! General Larabit nobly replied to those who have the courage to affirm that there are no more proscribed! So many eloquent voices, the wishes of the citizens of Paris, of Toulouse, and La Charente, those great names, dear to France,—will all be powerless to repair injustice? . . . Let us leave to the country the care of our return. When she desires it, her will will be expressed in a suitable manner. Paris, Toulouse, and La Charente will find echoes in every part where the memory of Napoleon is honoured. The names of Moskova, of Montebello, of Esling, are not the only illustrious names of the ancient companions, the friends of Napoleon; and the

government, which has already repaired in part the iniquity, will abase without difficulty the odious barrier, out of which they keep citizens proscribed upon account of their name, and who will never cease, till their last sigh, to stretch out their arms towards their country.

In terminating this first volume, and in returning to our political views of 1800, I ask myself what influence the experience of so many years has had upon our sentiments of that epoch. Has that experience modified the opinions of Sièyes? Have those opinions remained stationary? or, on the other hand, returning to the ancient recollections of the constituent assembly, have they passed from our consular republic to the constitutional monarchy? The authentic memoirs of that venerable man can alone resolve that question. I hope and trust that he will not deprive the country of his last thoughts. As for myself, my regrets for the senatorial republic have remained a very long time. Adversity, which is not very good for softening the humor, has struggled in my mind for a long time against the evidence of the universal voting in favor of the monarchy, and against my conviction of the genius and patriotism of Napoleon. In fine, although in my conference at Mantua with my brother, my refusal had no other motive than the political restrictions to which I did not think proper to submit; but it is not less true, that until my residence in England, there still remained in me a great deal of the old republican, and public liberty appeared to me to be almost incompatible with royalty.

But in England I have been convinced that a monarchy really constitutional is requisite for a great people, as much, and more, perhaps, than any other form of government. We see here the best of republics, not in a programme, but in facts and manners. The legislative power wisely divided amongst three authorities, who exercise without obstacle their own prerogatives:—the executive power having all the authority to do good, and not having, and not seeking to do evil. The judiciary power is so completely independent, that the most obscure individual, as well as the richest lord, as the most illustrious or the most humble exile of the continent, reposes equally in security, beneath the guarantee of the jury, that no sacrilegious attack can tarnish, and beneath the inviolability of the domicile, that no wretch can violate. The elective chamber, named by eight hundred thousand electors over a population of twenty-five millions, which, without being the universal suffrage, approaches five times nearer to it than we do, since we ought to have in that proportion more than a million of electors! The chamber of peers, in fine, is accessible to every citizen, and too powerful and too enlightened to yield to the seductions of courts, or the clamors of the multitude. These hereditary magis-

trates have been for above a century and a half the defenders of the charter, the immortal work of their ancestors, their tutelary supremacy will long continue to be the palladium of British liberties. Provided they never cease to oppose an immovable resistance to the overflowing torrent of demagogical opinions, that a social overthrow can alone satisfy. Provided they do not abandon their ground to defend themselves feebly against that of their adversaries. Provided they follow always the high state reason, which judges, in the first place, of the effect of a new law upon the whole of the constitution, instead of considering solely that absolute perfection of theory, illusory enough sometimes to insinuate into the political body a mortal germ of dissolution, seductive appearance of a salutary amelioration. Provided, above all, that they do not arrive, *some day*, even to suffer them to drag in the dirt the patrician toga, or at least cease to have the same respect for it as for the royal mantle and the elective chamber; for, (*if by timidity,*) by indifference, or by a false popularity, to provoke or contribute to the profanation of one of the three fundamental authorities, would that be walking in the road to a wise reform? . . . Would it not rather be completely turning the back upon old England to follow the errors of a democracy without control? . . . Would it not be denying that charter, as yet without a rival in the ancient world, and whose vital strength resides in the *equal* independence, the *equal* respectability, the *equal* inviolability of the king, the lords and commons.

Nothing is perfect upon earth, either in men or in the laws . . . But where, when shall we approach nearer to perfection?

We thought on the 18th Brumaire to approach nearer, in founding simultaneously a large democracy, and an aristocracy during life, upon one sole and same basis, the universal suffrage of several degrees.

But France willed that the consular republic was but a bright dream of a few days . . .

May she at least perfect her monarchy, by reconciling herself with the system of an hereditary body patriotically organized. That legislative combination is the most liberal of all under a monarchy, because it is alone capable of serving as a balance to a royal hereditary power, and to a representative popular power, as it is against her own nature to transform it into a privilege of burghership, and which, very shortly, it will be no longer possible to disinherit any one amongst us.

It is then only that we shall have a throne surrounded with *republican institutions*. That is to say, with democratic and aristocratic institutions, wisely balanced . . . It is then, that after fifty years of incomplete and glorious essays,

we shall rest at once upon an elective representation, frank and universal, and upon an hereditary magistrature, powerfully conservative. We may then equal and surpass, perhaps, that liberal nation, once our enemy, whose fortunate alliance, (strong barrier raised against despotism, individual or collective,) appears to promise to the people of Europe the pacific and progressive triumph of the mixed governments, the only ones where the constitutional liberties, precious fruits of our civilization, can live and prosper in the midst of the inequalities and passions inseparable from humanity.

NOTES.

(1) The able Fesch is now Cardinal and Archbishop of Lyons, although removed from his see by the persecution which has not yet ceased to strike the family of Napoleon.

(2) Address of Raynal, read at the bar of the National Convention. Sitting of the 31st of May, 1791.

"On arriving in this capital, after a long absence, my heart and my affections are turned towards you—ready to descend into the night of the tomb * * * What do I see around me? Religious troubles, civil dissensions, the consternation of some, the boldness and the rage of others; a government, the slave of popular tyranny, the sanctuary of the laws surrounded by licentious men, who wish alternately to dictate or to brave them; soldiers without discipline, chiefs without authority, magistrates without courage, ministers without means; a king, the first friend of his people, plunged in grief, outraged, menaced, stripped of all authority, and the sovereign power existing only in clubs, where ignorant and violent men dare to pronounce upon all political questions. Such is, gentlemen, doubt it not, such is the true state of France.

"I was full of hope and joy when I saw you lay the foundations of public happiness, pursue all abuses, proclaim all just rights, submit to the same laws, and a uniform administration in all the different parts of this empire. My eyes were filled with tears when saw the most vile, the most wicked of men, employed as the instruments of a necessary revolution; when I saw the holy name of patriotism, prostituted to villainy and licentiousness, march in triumph under the ensigns of liberty! Terror was mingled with sincere grief, when I saw all the springs of government broken, and powerless barriers substituted to the necessity of an active and repressive force. How I suffer when in the midst of the capital and the focus of knowledge, I see this people seduced to receive, with a ferocious joy, the most culpable propositions, to smile at the relation of assassinations, to sing of their crimes as of conquests, to appeal stupidly to the enemies of the revolution, to defile it with complaisance, to shut their eyes to all the evils with which they are oppressed. Called to regenerate France, you ought first to consider what you can usefully preserve of the ancient order, and still more, what you cannot abandon of it. France was a monarchy: its extent, its wants, its manners, its national character, are invincibly opposed to that which can ever admit of republican institutions without working a total dissolution of it. The monarchical power was vitiated by two causes: the foundations of it were surrounded by prejudices, and its limits were only marked by partial resistances. To purify the principles, in fixing the throne upon its true basis, the sovereignty of the nation; to set the bounds in placing them in the national representation, was what you had to do. And

you think to have done it!—But in regulating the two powers, the strength and the success of the constitution depend upon the equilibrium, and you had to defend yourself against the real inclination of ideas, you ought to see that in opinion the power of kings declines, and that the rights of the people increase; so that in weakening without measure, that which tends naturally to efface itself, in strengthening without proportion that which tends naturally to augment, you arrived forcibly to this sad result—a king without authority, a people without restraint. How can you suffer, after having consecrated the principle of individual liberty, that there should exist in your bosom an inquisition, which serves as a model and a pretext for all the inferior inquisitions, which a factious restlessness has spread in all parts of the empire. You have laid the foundations of liberty—of every rational constitution, in assuring to the people the right of making laws, and to decree taxes. Anarchy will even swallow up these important rights, if you do not place them under the care of an active and vigorous government; despotism awaits us, if you always repel the tutelary protection of royal authority."

(3) Report on the election of Lucien Bonaparte—sitting of the 29th of Floreal, 6th year. Malikan reporter.

Representatives of the people, said he, the 20th Germinal last, the electoral assembly of the department of the Liamone, assembled in the place appointed by the central administration, has proceeded to the nomination of a deputy to the legislative body, conformably to the dispositions of the law of the 27th Pluviose, the 5th year, and the citizen Lucien Bonaparte has been elected by unanimous suffrages, member of the council of five hundred, for three years.

The process verbal of this assembly presents a picture of the decorum, calmness, and harmony amongst the citizens who composed it; all the dispositions of the laws have been respected, and all the formalities exactly observed.

A single difficulty presents itself; I submit it to the council according to the description which was decreed for ten years the 27th Pluviose of the year 5, the department of the Liamone proceeded, in the year 6, to name a deputy for the council of five hundred; but by a subsequent law you have decided, the 12th Pluviose last, that for the present year the department of the Liamone should not nominate a deputy to the legislative body.

If this last law had been promulgated in the department of the Liamone before the holding of the electoral assembly, there is no doubt that the election would be void; but your commission has considered that the law of the 12th Praireal of the year 6, not having then arrived in the department of the Liamone, the electoral assembly fulfilled its duty in conforming to the existing law in nominating a deputy to the council of five hundred. It has considered that in the actual circumstances of the case, being much below the full number, there was no inconvenience in declaring the election made by the department of the Liamone valid. This is the project:

Article 1st. The proceedings of the electoral assembly of the department of the Liamone, relative to the nomination of a deputy by the said department to the legislative body, are declared valid. Therefore the citizen Lucien Bonaparte shall be admitted the 1st Praireal next to the council of five hundred for three years.

2d: The dispositions of the law of the 27th Pluviose, relative to the elections of the department of the Liamone, are repeated in that which would be contrary to the present resolution. The council declares the urgency, adopts the project, and in consequence receives into its bosom for three years the citizen Lucien Bonaparte.

Observations submitted on this subject in favor of the project, observations which the council interrupted the reading of by demanding to go to the vote, will be given in the impression.

(4) Sitting of the 29th Messidor, the year 6. I come to recall eternal principles, which cannot be unknown in this circle. I come to support the opinion of our collegiate Creuze Latouché. I ought to make a distinction between the propositions which are made to you. The decades, you say, are the only fête, yes, the only national fête, the only republican fête; we have the right to consecrate it by a law, but we have not the right to hinder a citizen from celebrating the fête, which his own religion appoints him. Can we order a freeman to work on such a day? Can we say to a republican on such a day, whatever may be his religion, thou shalt work? Representatives, tolerance is the sister of liberty—persecution is the daughter of tyranny. At Rome, even under the papal domination, have you ever heard tell that it forced a sect you will easily call to mind, to work on the Saturday? And we, the representatives of a free people, shall we give less latitude in the exercise of religious worship than the Roman pontiff?

Sitting of the 19th Thermidor, year 6. The reporter read the article relative to the opening of shops and warehouses, on the fete days of the ancient calendar.

Lucien Bonaparte—You have declared, some days since, that the decades and the days of national fetes were those of rest throughout the republic; a measure is again presented to you to-day, already combatted and already repelled. Penetrated as you are, with the deepest hatred against fanaticism and blind sectaries, I contend against the proposition which is made to you.

Several voices—Adjournment to Primedi.

The President to Lucien Bonaparte—You are the speaker—go on.

N—, Maintain the question.—President, I demand a reply to the question.

Bonaparte—Three different propositions have been made. The first declared that the days of the decades were the only days of repose. The second applied the measure only to traders; at last it is restricted to ordain the opening of shops, only on fair and market days. I will examine these different propositions—they all deserve your attention, not as concerning their object in themselves, but as concerning the general good, and as to the circumstances and tranquillity of the whole republic. The first amendment declared the day of decade the only day of rest. In this I see nothing more than an inquisitorial measure without a parallel. I open the codes of all the tyrannies; I retrace the acts of all usurpers, and I do not find an example of such a violation of individual liberty.

The President.—I interrupt the speaker to intimate to him that the resolution upon the decades has been adopted by the council of the ancients, and that this amendment is no longer the question.

Lucien Bonaparte.—I can speak to all the amendments which have been made, show the danger of them when they have been

supported at this tribunal in full liberty. They relate to individual liberty, and I think they are of sufficient importance to be discussed with deep consideration. What has been said in their favor has been heard; the privilege of combatting them should also be allowed. I continue—the adjournment to Primedi is again demanded.

The adjournment is declared

(5) The sitting of the 27th Thermidor of the year 6.

The President.—Lucien Bonaparte has demanded to speak on this question.

Lucien Bonaparte.—I have asked to speak but for the purpose of opposing the custom of injurious reconciliations, a custom which has become too much the fashion.

Several voices.—That is true. Supported.

Bonaparte.—What means this affectation of always recalling Gibert Desmolieres, and of receiving his name in preference to that of members who appear at the tribune? We have not here to do with Gibert Desmolieres; it is not a question as to what has been done, said or proposed, by the conspirators; no doubt, to attain their ends, they have thought it their duty to employ sometimes popular forms, and to publish notions which approached to the general good; but because such or such an expedient has been theirs, is it to be said that this expedient shall be interdicted to a republican? If they have put forth a constitutional opinion; if they have held republican language, I declare that I will hold forth a like opinion, and will maintain the same language with the single difference of intention.

I have thought it necessary to say these few words, in order that these descriptions of reconciliation may not in future be permitted, as they only embarrass a discussion, and give the opinion of the council a false direction. I was desirous to warn the council of the use of a similar expedient.

(6) Sitting of the 16th Thermidor, year 6.

The order of the day calls for the debate on the project of Lucien Bonaparte, relative to the relief to be afforded to the widows and children of soldiers.

This is the report with which the reading of the project had been preceded.

The 18th Praireal, said the reporter, you made a resolution relative to the relief to be afforded to the widows and children of the defenders of their country. The 18th Messidor the council of the ancients declared they could not adopt it. If the council of the ancients has not approved at length of your dispositions of the 18th Praireal, it is because it has considered them incomplete for the land forces, and inapplicable to the seamen. If, however, the land forces have a thousand times well deserved of their country, the navel forces, held back unto this day, in spite of them, begin to press forward in their career, and their first step announces that they are also the favored sons of victory—yes, if forests of laurels do not yet overshadow the genius of our marine, it is because it has been to this day in its infancy, from causes which I shall not recall to your mind. Vivacity and courage may be the portion of a noble child; but vigor can only be acquired by the development of the physical faculties, and nature prescribes for this development a fixed period.

In those isolated battles of vessel to vessel, of frigate to frigate,

where the English have always had the superiority in numbers, has not our marine proved that the enthusiasm of liberty can overcome the coolness of art? In those isolated battles of the ocean and the Mediterranean, have not traits of valor been exhibited which claim immortality, and which the burine of history will trace in characters of gold?

These first exploits were the sure guarantee of victory, as soon as a French fleet should appear upon the bosom of the ocean. Our marine emerges from infancy, and exhibits itself in all the lustre of youth. Yesterday Malta became its first conquest; to-day it is forgotten in search of nobler victories. The destinies of the republic will surely guide it to accomplish great things. What is there impossible to soldiers covered with laurels, to sailors impatient to do the same? Glory unites the army and the navy; let not the national beneficence separate them. The widows, the children of these warriors, shall be equally the objects of our paternal solicitude.

The commission thinks it ought to unite in the same project soldiers and sailors.

Your commission is of opinion that it is proper to ordain a mode of payment in each department every month, and to simplify it as much as possible, without compelling the pensioners to apply to the treasury. Representatives of the people, the widows, the children of our warriors, speak a language which many clerks do not understand. These respectable families have no intrigues, no gold; they have only tears, and tears so touching to sensible minds, affect but lightly the invulnerable hearts of certain beings. No, you will not confide to these men the carrying into effect a national reward—a reward so noble in its origin, becomes in their hands a source of incalculable ignominy. You must cringe before two, three, or perhaps twenty clerks, and before you have completed the half of this career of humiliation, the mind is so abased, that to have the strength to finish it, you must more than once feel the cravings of hunger.

Your resolution ordains that the reduction or augmentation of pensions shall be made in the margin of the commission of pensioners, by the authority which would have originally paid the pension. By this article all pensioners were obliged to strip themselves of their titles, and to send them to Paris. It has appeared more simple that the ministers of war and of marine, who have in their bureaux the titles of all the pensions already granted, should prepare each for their department a general table of these pensions, reduced or augmented according to the present arrangements.

A third observation is also here suggested. The pensions granted for the future, and those which are going to be reduced or augmented according to the rate marked out in the present law, shall they be susceptible of reduction to a third part, prescribed by the law of 9th Vendémiaire last?

Our opinion upon this question cannot be for a moment doubtful, since in the present law you reconcile as much as possible, economy with national justice; it is plain that these are the sums fixed by the law, and not the third part of these sums, that you intend to grant to the relations of the defenders of our country. We have sufficiently rambled over the words, both politically and financially;

it is time that every thing should resume the signification and the value which is appropriate to it. The commission, therefore, proposes to you to declare, by an additional article, that these pensions shall not be subject to any reduction.

The 6th article of your resolution of the 18th Praireal, fixes the pensions to be granted to the widows of general officers of every grade, from four to six hundred francs. The commission has considered this sum too small, and that it was not in the proportion which exists between the appointments of a general officer, and those of subalterns; nor in those which exist between the appointments of a general officer and a general-in-chief; it has, therefore, carried these pensions up to from six to nine hundred francs for general officers, and for the same reason it has thought it desirable to fix at from twelve to fifteen hundred francs, the pensions of widows of commanders in chief of the land and of sea forces; it is unnecessary to develop to you further the motives of the commission on this subject. The 12th article fixed at fourteen years the relief to be granted to orphans. The commission thinks that the republic ought not to abandon these orphans until they can become soldiers.

What!—representatives of the people, would you abandon the children of those brave men, before the age that the laws opens to them the career of glory? What then would become of these unfortunate children? Deprived of their parents, abandoned by the republic, which had promised to take care of their youth, repelled from the army, where the law does not yet permit them to be enrolled, there only remains to them despair or the debasing resource of devoting themselves to servile employments, or to implore the pity of the traveller! The livery of misery or of servitude would cover the sons of our warriors!—and the incorrigible royalist, seeing them with complaisance would smile with pleasure, and would say to the citizens—go; pour out your blood for this republic fertile in promises. Your children, succored for some years will end in asking charity.—No, representatives of the people, you cannot thus forsake the orphans at fourteen years. It is at this age, in which misery brings after it all the vices, when the character is forming, and the passions develop themselves, that you ought to watch, with paternal care, over the children of our country, until they can follow the impulse of their generous hearts, and render themselves worthy of the name they bear with pride.

The republic ought to take them by the hand from the field of battle, and from the field of battle to the tomb; the lives of these noble children would be but a succession of services rendered to that country which has been a mother to them. Then the dying warrior will close his eyes without uneasiness for the fate of his son; he will know that his country adopts him, and that it will take care of him until he can be enrolled. He will die in the hope that his son will soon follow in his steps, and perhaps surpass him; and his name repeated a thousand times by fame, will soon be revived still more glorious!

Sublime sentiment of glory, emanation of the divinity, thou shalt console the dying warrior in the field of honor, who without disquiet for his family, and uneasiness for his country, will ask in his last moments if victory has continued faithful to the colors of the

republic. Lucien Bonaparte presents a project conformable to these dispositions.

¶ (7) Sitting of the 29th Thermidor, year 6.

The President.—The debate ought to open upon a project relative to the recruiting of the army; but Lucien Bonaparte demands to speak upon a motion of order.

Lucien Bonaparte.—Representatives of the people, amongst the counter-revolutionary factions, there are none more dangerous, more tolerated, more spread than those of the dilapidators; each of us have declared war to the death of this liberticide faction; and our session will be useful and celebrated in the annals of this great nation, by the suppression of robberies and the punishment of robbers. Such are the justly cherished hopes of our constituents—such are the unshaken and courageous intentions of each of us. You have already manifested these restorative intentions with a force which has carried a cold sweat to the front of crime; already commissions are formed for the accounts to be rendered by the ministers, for the publicity of markets, and for infamous games which make a branch of commerce still more infamous. You desired that a special commission should occupy itself with the means of reaching the dilapidators, and to prevent dilapidations hereafter. It is in the name of this commission, composed of your colleagues, Duplautier, Destrem, Gourlay, Marquezy and myself, that I come this day to lay before you the first page of its labors, and to propose to you the means for making use of it.

Your commission has at first been struck with a reconciliation which should offer a mournful subject to the friends of their country. Several times the legislative body has testified its hatred against the dilapidators; it has charged special commissions several times to present to it the means of repression and punishment. Well! these commissions have never fulfilled their instructions; the magic force circumstances have always substituted silence for courage; the abyss has been approached without daring to look at it, or if a glance has been thrown at its depth, it seems that they have trembled to say what they have discovered.

We turn aside our eyes from the causes which have hindered the commissions that have preceded us to fulfil their instructions, but we promise our colleagues to fulfil our own. We will fathom the abyss, we will march to our aim, and nothing shall turn us aside from the career you have opened to us, and where we shall press forward with an entire devotion.

To stop the dilapidations, to reach the dilapidators, whatever may be the mantles which cover them, without doubt this task will not be fulfilled without obstacles; but the representatives of the people, to do good, have only to will it strongly. It is with them to promote the public good without regarding those who surround them; as the warrior rushes on to victory without calculating the dangers. No doubt the blood-suckers of the people pursued by you, will dart upon your their poisons; they possess gold, boldness, and the tact for seduction, and proud of these advantages, will perhaps think themselves strong enough to encounter the struggle; but we will oppose to them the force of the law, the good of the people, the will of the sovereign, and they will be overthrown, and their punishment will serve as an example and a lesson. The executive directory will be eager, no doubt, to unite its efforts with those

of the legislative body to reach the dilapidators ; it will feel as we do, that the time for half measures against rogues is passed, and that to bear with them much longer would be to let slide into their hands the remainder of the national fortune, and render new taxes necessary. It is not enough for the purposes of justice, and the interests of the people, that we represent, that the cowardly agents of its ruin, bow down before us their timid faces to raise them again shortly charged with boldness and eagerness ; their drooping faces must not be allowed to raise themselves again. The commission is already occupied with several important objects ; it will examine in succession the different parts of the public expenses, and will present to you, in some degree, the means of extirpating these abuses. Its labors require this mode of proceeding, because it tends to prevent dilapidations of every kind ; and from that time it is not a complete plan, but a thousand partial measures that it will and should submit to your examination ; it was already prepared to propose to you several of them ; but farther reflection has stopped it. In the firm resolution we have taken to tear aside every veil of intrigue, would it not be necessary and prudent that we were heard only by our colleagues ? Since we must speak out, malevolence, always on the watch, might it not profit by our solemn discussion ? None of us, representatives of the people, are ignorant of it ; the hydra of faction watches around this palace ; she spies us without ceasing, and she often translates into her own infernal idiom what is said at this tribune ; she will hear you, and will be eager to comment on our speeches, and to envenom our intentions, that she may be able to seize upon a generous movement which was certainly not made for her.

The commission has considered that in order to avoid evil, it should propose to the council to form itself into a general committee when it could deal with the projects that would be presented to it. By these means the faction would be baffled, we should no longer be impeded by the patriotic fear of giving a hold to malevolence, in spite of us ; we shall give ourselves up entirely to the holy occupation you have committed to us, and we shall present to you, with still more confidence and pleasure, the result of our labors. The commission has, therefore, charged me to ask for a general committee in order that it may submit for your discussion several projects of law which tend to the salutary design of amelioration.

These reflections have naturally brought us to examine if it would not be advantageous to the public, that every important discussion on the finances were made in a general committee. In suppressing this publicity, you would already weaken this vile species of dilapidators of the public wealth, who could not exist by their own strength, if they were not supported and directed by guilty chiefs who hide themselves in vain in the shadow of crime. How many times have not these miserable swindlers waited for the effect of a report on finances, in order to calculate upon this basis their infamous speculations ? How many times immense products, torn from the fortune of the people, have they not enriched all that was most vile amongst men ? The wretches !—they dared to employ the words of the legislator as the text for their plundering. They follow, they watch, often even endowed

with the sinister gift of Cassandra, they foretel the financial operations.

Representatives of the people, hasten to put an end to this profligacy of dilapidators and their enormities; your commission is occupied with this object with great solicitude, and it considers that it ought to propose to you, as a first expedient, no longer to employ yourselves with the finances but in secret committee. This measure was called for by the wish of the greater part of our colleagues; we thought that it came within our instructions, and we hasten to propose it to you in the following decree:—

The council decrees, that it will form itself hereafter in a general committee whenever the reporters of this commission, or of the commission of finances, shall have the right of speaking.

Whatever may be your decision, representatives of the people, I am charged to ask of you for Primedi a general committee, in order to hear the different reports in the name of your commission. I announce to you that there is one of them ready, if you desire at this moment to form a general committee. To the vote, is demanded from all parts. The project of Bonaparte upon the debate on finances is unanimously and immediately adopted.

(8) Sitting of the 22d Vendémiaire, year 7.

General Gourdan, actual President, addresses the following letter:—

Citizen representatives, called to the legislative body by the confidence of my fellow citizens, I was not long in perceiving that I was very incapable of fulfilling all the obligations which I had contracted in accepting functions so august. However, encouraged by your kindness, and the expressions of esteem with which you have several times honored me, I should have continued my legislative career—I should have endeavored to make up for the feebleness of my talents by my application and my ardent love of liberty; for the constitution of the year 3, and from the government which has emanated from it. But, citizen representatives, the executive directory has informed you of the political situation of the republic; you are impressed with the necessity of preparing to make war, in order at length to force your enemies to make peace; you have ordered an extraordinary levy of two hundred thousand conscripts, and you are occupied in preparing the funds requisite for their maintenance.

In circumstances where our country calls her children to its defence, I have thought that I should serve it more usefully in the army than in the senate. I resign then in the midst of you, legislators, the character of representative of the people—I beg of you to accept my resignation.

I desire, Citizen representatives, that this step on my part may be to you a fresh proof of my sincere attachment to the republic, and of my devotion to its service. Health and regard.

Signed,

JOURDAN.

Lucien Bonaparte. We are about to lose an estimable colleague. Our first sentiment is regret; but to these regrets will soon succeed a more sublime sentiment: it is for the camp that Jourdan quits the tribune. The author of the law on military conscription should give place to the General of Fleurus. Well!—let him depart sur-

rounded by the esteem of his colleagues, and followed with the confidence of the republic.

Enemies, insatiate at their defeats, would they reckon upon intestine divisions?—the fools!—do they not know that at their appearance every shade of opinion disappears? With one word you have dissipated this miserable hope, and new armies with new resources are organized:—from your bosom departs one who will lead to victory, and that not for the first time, the children of France. Representatives of the people, whilst our brethren in arms shall run over their list of combats, we will defend here the constitution of the year 3, and we will cultivate the salutary union of those powers which constitute the strength of states. Certain that I explain but your sentiments, I venture at this moment to become your organ, and to render in your name a brilliant testimony of esteem and confidence to the colleague who is about to leave us.

The council orders the impression of six copies of the letter and the speech and their insertion in the process verbal.

(9) Setting of the 9th Messidor, year 7.

Texier Olivier, Secretary. Here is a second message from the directory relative to the situation of the republic and the information required. Perhaps you will decide to have it read in a secret committee.

Several members supported this opinion.

Lucien Bonaparte.—This message either refers to diplomatic subjects, or it is an answer to the information you have asked for. In the first case I am for the formation of a committee; in the second I claim publicity. The people and the army expect a reply relative to the condition and wants of the republic—both must be made known to them.

I demand that the message be read in public.

A crowd of Members. Supported,—supported.

Portiez de l'visc. In the first message the directory announced to you that a second would contain details which it would be important not to make public.

I demand the formation of a general committee.

It is required that the bureau take cognizance of the message.

Grandmaison. A wise and prudent intention has dictated the motion of our colleague Texier; but the people have been led to the brink of destruction. No doubt the message of the directory indicates dangers, their causes, the source of the evil, and the remedy. These objects require the greatest publicity.

Texier read the following message:—

Citizen Representatives—

The executive directory is about to render you an account of the state in which it finds France.

The wounds of the republic are deep; and great danger surrounds it—(at these words the speaker is interrupted by the renewed demand for a general committee.)

Jourdan.—I demand that the reading be continued in public. Our commission has its labors to present to you after the reading of the message. You are going to ask of the people of France men and money; the people must know what are its wants.

The secretary continues the reading of the message.

The directory, it is there said, cannot dissemble to you the dangers which surround the republic, because from their imminent na-

ture only will you be able to obtain those resources which can save it, those powerful measures which ought to secure its greatness, and which even the efforts of our enemies, at the present day, attest the wonder which has struck them.

It is too true that a fatal system, than an unjust prepossession, has removed from functions and places citizens the most capable of maintaining the spirit of the nation up to the elevation of its destinies, that almost every where the administrations are formed of weak and careless men, or of the enemies of the republican regime, and require to be entirely reorganized; public spirit, the support or depression of which depends principally on the good or bad formation of the constituted authorities, is deteriorated and corrupted: an unhappy influence has produced alike a reaction upon the tribunals, and the temple of justice has too often become the unhallowed asylum of robbers, covered with the blood of republicans.

It is too true, that ceasing to be impressed with the salutary terror of the laws, without which there is no government; that emboldened by the weakness or collusion of the public functionaries who ought to watch them, robbers that infest the interior of the republic have re-appeared with fresh boldness; that at the signal given by the assassins of Rastadt, they have raised again the bloody banner of revolt. United at present in bands, they infest and desolate several departments of the West and of the South; the purchasers of the national wealth are attacked, as are also travellers, and public carriages upon the high roads; the proceeds of the taxes are plundered in the chests upon the roads, and citizens distinguished for their attachment to the republic are massacred in their own houses. And all these crimes are committed in the name of the altar and the throne. A civil war is ready to be kindled up at several points, to aid by its diversions and its plagues the external war.

And a blind want of foresight has given time to our enemies to embolden themselves by a new coalition, which has enabled this impious coalition to recruit itself from all the parts with fresh hordes, and has left our triumphant armies to be dissolved even on the field of victory. Whilst they were left to be amused with hopes at Rastadt, they neglected the only means of securing peace, that by being actively prepared for war—which they should have foreseen, and which we must carry on.

We will maintain this odious war, and the incoherent assemblage of our actual enemies shall meet the fate of the first coalition.

But to the extraordinary efforts of our enemies we must hasten to oppose the all-powerful efforts of the friends of liberty.

Citizen representatives, our frontiers are menaced; we must defend them; we must secure the subsistence of armies exposed for too long a time; we must arm new battalions; we must restore the means of offensive operations to our brave legions, and make our enemies respect even the soil of our allies.

We must encourage the interior by the organization of an imposing force, and terminate this war of assassinations, which stains the land of liberty with the blood of the friends of the republic. The insufficiency and inadequacy of the coming in of the taxes, is felt in the most painful manner, throwing every department of the public service into a state of disorganization, the disastrous results of which are incalculable, and however imperious the circum-

stances in which we find ourselves placed may demand extraordinary supplies, you already feel the necessity for them.

In fact, representatives of the people, the directory ought to say to you, to the nation at large, that the political body is menaced with a total dissolution, if you do not hasten to re-temper all the springs of its organization and of its movement.

Our evils are great, no doubt, but our resources are those of a generous people, whose misfortunes augment in strength, and whose reverses only fortify their courage—a people worthy of liberty; and who are never more powerful, more terrible to their enemies, than when they dare to flatter themselves that they have conquered.

Our misfortunes originate principally from the bad use or the abandonment of our means.

The means of the French republic are always the same, they are those with which it has hitherto conquered the most numerous enemies. The first of all these means, the most powerful, that which gives a value to others, is the energy of the people, their devotion to the sacred cause of liberty, to that cause for which they have made so many sacrifices.

At your voice, representatives of the people, at that of the directory, which has with you but the same mind, the same soul, Europe will see this energy exhibit itself more terrible, more heroic than ever. The coalition with which we have to contend, is the last effort of our combined enemies. They shall be the last; the efforts which the republic is going to put forth to throw down this menacing coalition will force the powers which compose it to submit to the laws of justice and peace.

The directory adds to this message, citizen representatives, the reports of the ministers on the different subjects to which your attention has been called. You will there find the detail of the facts of which it presents to you the results; you will there see the wants of the republic, and some indications of the means by which they may be attained.

The council orders the impression of twelve copies.

(10) Sitting of the 9th Messidor, year 7.

First project of the decree.

The council of five hundred charges its commission named to insure the service of the years 7 and 8, to present tridi next a project of resolution on the means of realizing a loan of one hundred millions, and to insure the re-payment of it.

Second project of the decree.

The council of five hundred charges its military commission to present to it duodi next, a report on the organization of the battalions and companies whose formation is ordered by the resolution of this day.

The projects of resolution and of decrees are adopted.

The council adopts unanimously the project presented, and hears immediately the second reading of it.

It charges its special commissioners to present to it Primedi the means for carrying into effect this project.

(11) Sitting of the 9th Messidor, year 7.

Français De Nantes.—Your commission has charged me to lay before you the following project of an address to the French nation:—

The legislative body to the French nation—

Frenchmen—A system, followed by the majority of the executive directory, sad and deplorable fruit of the want of foresight, of error, of ignorance, which the treason of several agents, and which the corruption of a great number of others, would have made still worse, compromised the safety of the republic within and without; the existence of the purest republicans, and the sacred principles of the revolution.

In this great danger of the state, without considering that of our personal situation, placed in the first degree of the political order, stipulating for the interest of the greatest people in the world, and those of the allied republics; in the emotions with which such great objects struck us on all sides, we thought only of the great and sublime cause which your confidence has charged us to defend, and we swear to you, by our address of the 22d Praireal last, to save you or to perish. We have kept our oath to you. The events of the 28th, 29th and 30th Praireal last are known to you. The French people and the legislative body have triumphed with the constitution without occasioning any shock. -

A new directory filled with this patriotic courage, which was always the presage of victory, has issued from this political crisis.—The reins of government are in firm republican hands—rely with confidence on the first authorities. They will always respect the constitution which you have given to yourselves.

Frenchmen!—your frontiers are menaced with a neighboring invasion—men, money and arms; this is what is required—this is indispensable to your safety.

It is to you, republicans that we address ourselves! When you were compressed by an absurd and tyranical regime, by which the shoots of the purest republicanism were treated as anarchical conspiracy, you feared to give yourselves up to your zeal; but when we swore fidelity to you, it is for you to swear to us the victory. Go and reinforce our armies which wait for you, and associate yourselves with their immortal renown.

Sing the hymns of liberty from you battalions in accordance with the law, and let a happy movement, directed upon our frontiers, destroy this impious coalition, and avenge the blood of our plenipotentiaries.

Employ with zeal and wisdom the right which the constitution assures to you, to unite yourselves. Be on your guard against strangers, who would endeavor to carry you beyond the line of the laws, and the respect due to public authority. Do not suffer your constitutional charter to be outraged or violated; it is our safeguard and our rallying point. Invigorate our republican institutions; they give force and grandeur to the state; they disengage minds by little and little from the hideous swaddling clothes of superstition, elevate them to those liberal principles which redouble energy, and re-animate courage; they are most guilty who insult these peaceable societies, who profess the most pure morality, and scatter forth the most happy seeds of a fraternal reconciliation and of a universal benevolence.

Wo to those who would conspire against the state, who would urge the citizens to a rebellion, to the violation of the laws by whatever means they are able! Wo to those who practice re-actions—no more revenge, no more terror, no more arbitrary regime, no

more tyranny—liberty and the constitution, this is our duty to all.

Republicans, we fulfil ours with zeal and firmness; it is for your courage to ensure the triumph of the republic without, and the reign of a wise liberty within.

The council adopts the digest.

Lucien Bonaparte.—I demand that the council make a resolution to send the message of the directory and this address to all the departments and to the army.

It is right that they should know the truth, and the causes of their reverses—that they should know that they have not ceased to conquer for a moment, but from the most profound folly or the blackest treason, which left them to fail of the most necessary objects, because they had not at their head generals to whom multiplied victories had created a right to the confidence of the soldier. It is essential to the army that this state of things exist no longer; that the authorities march together in concert with redoubled zeal; that the nation responds to this appeal, and that victory will then be always certain under the colors of the republic.

The proposition of Lucien Bonaparte is adopted.

(12) Sitting of the 24th Messidor, year 7.

Montellier then presents himself to the tribune to make the report upon the measures necessary to reach the dilapidators of the public wealth, and the means whereby conspirators may be seized, their abettors and accomplices.

It gives an account at first of the deep impression which the resolution of the 30th Prairial has made upon the people. It was the result of opinion, that immortal power which is sometimes quenched, but which strikes always in a bold manner. It abandoned by little and little the triumvers, and delivered them up alone and without defence to the movement which has overthrown them; but it is of consequence that the results of these movements be prompt, were it only to keep off those political oscillations and strugglings always dangerous. The commission hastens, therefore, to submit its determinations. The reporter makes here the analysis of the petitions which have been referred to the commission. Grave imputations result from them, if they are well founded, against the ex-members of the directory, Rewbell, Merlin, Treilhard, Reveilliére, Scherer, who are there designated as the authors or accomplices of a conspiracy which has brought the republic to the brink of destruction.

They are denounced—1st. As the authors and accomplices of a conspiracy which has placed the republic in the greatest danger.

2d. As having transported to the deserts of Arabia forty thousand men forming the élite of our armies, the General Bonaparte, and with him the flower of our Savans, and our men of letters, and our artists.

3d. As having pillaged the arsenals and sold at a low price arms and military stores.

4th. As having, by force of arms, overturned the Cisalpine constitution, which had been guaranteed by the legislative body.

5th. As guilty of an outrage against the sovereignty of the people in endeavoring to influence the elections by intrigue, menaces and force; and in leaving unpunished the directorial commissioners denounced by the legislative body, and especially that of the Sarthe.

After having signalized the guilty, the commission has sought the means of reaching them through the constitutional dispositions. The chain of proof may require the accusation of individuals, with respect to whom there exists a particular legislation, but a special commission being charged to examine the law of the 10th Vendémiaire, year 4, it will not be a question in this report, it will only present to the council the following question to be resolved: The article 3 of the constitution which does not deliver up legislators to the ordinary tribunals until thirty days after their functions have ceased, ought it to be limited to them alone, or applied to the ex-members of the directory? As for the rest, it is acknowledged by a legislative enactment, in the affair of Babœuf, that when an accused is justiciable to a particular tribunal, he takes with him his co-accused—thus there is less difficulty. We must again examine if the addresses may be considered as denunciations against a member of the legislative body, which according to the terms of the 116th article of the constitution, should be written and signed. The commission has thought that the affirmative could not make any difficulty, since the addresses are written and signed individually. From that time its attributions have ceased; there has only remained to propose to the council to form itself in a general committee to examine if the denunciation made against one of its members shall be rejected or admitted.

Representatives of the people, continues the reporter, in conclusion, opinion has been struck by the revolution of the 30th Prairial; patriotism has exalted herself at the voice of the legislative body; let it not wander without a guide,—let the directory speak—let it act, that it may declare its character. In political crises, it is towards those who have authority in their hands that all eyes are turned; it is for them to respond to the general expectation, to choose well their co-operators, for the public safety is especially in their hands; to grasp, in fact, the helm with a firm hand, and to march boldly. You, representatives, will not leave them isolated.

Men whose conceptions embrace all the aspects of our situation, must mature, put in motion, and dispose in order, all those legislative measures which circumstances may render necessary, that patriotism may have a focus, as well as royalism a centre, and then we shall be conquerors as soon as we show ourselves.

The commission announces that it will forthwith present measures in order to reach the dilapidators, and proposes to the council to form itself into a committee to deliberate upon the denunciations which have been presented to it.

This proposition is adopted, and the committee is immediately formed.

(13) In the centre of the hall of the sittings of the council of five hundred, facing the tribune, there was a column supporting the book of the constitution of the year 3. This book in marble, was surrounded by garlands of oak and laurel.

(14) Speech delivered by the citizen Sièves, president of the executive directory, at the Champ de Mars, the 10th Thermidor.

We celebrate to-day the fête of liberty. All that has been imagined and executed for it, ought at this moment to be recalled to our remembrance; the precursory labors of philosophy which struggled with so much constancy against a multitude of prejudices; the

more immediate labors of some citizens before even they had a country, who, towards the epoch of 1789, awakened in the hearts of Frenchmen the sentiment, almost extinguished, of the rights of the nation; the generous efforts, the creative conceptions of this first national assembly whose errors cannot obliterate their important services, and by which has been insured for ever the wrath of all the enemies of the revolution; the ardent energy, so prolific in successive assemblies which profiting by the impulsion given of a new civic force; the faults, virtues, misfortunes, lights, founded at length the republican constitution, where French liberties have taken refuge. The devotion was the more meritorious, as it was the most obscure of the great number of good citizens who were always ready at the call of their country, and who have constantly made for it the greatest sacrifices, without considering themselves entitled to occupy the public with it, and more especially to menace it with their civism. This glory without a cloud of the French armies, which, always great, always indefatigable, have extorted admiration, even in their reverses, from all the powers of Europe: so many deeds, so many prodigies, so many events unheard of until these latter times, will live eternally in the memory of mankind. The victory gained over a long and bloody tyranny will also live—the downfall of which we this day more particularly call to mind. I will not re-produce here an afflicting picture, traced so often with intentions to oppose. After six years it still oppresses the soul and distracts the thoughts. What a lesson!—men without genius, but not without boldness, drew from the name of liberty, which they profaned, an incomprehensible force, a monstrous power of which there has been no example, and which I swear by the republic shall never return.

Always jealous, always cruel, they could only see in the talents, generous virtues, and all the natural affections, but crimes worthy of death. Not less stupid than ferocious, they created obstacles, destroyed means, provoked at length resistance, and punished France with their incapacity to govern. Formidable, especially, to the tried friends of liberty, they caused to perish under the iron of the executioner, or to sink under their own misfortunes, many republicans so pure, so enlightened, so magnanimous, whose irreparable loss we still weep over, and whose country ought ever to mourn for. They were thus the scourges, the unfeeling devastators of the republic of which they dared to proclaim themselves the saviours.

These tyrants were overthrown the 9th Thermidor. Honor them to this memorable day. No Frenchman can abjure it without shame. Honor to the national convention, which breaking at once its chains, revived liberty for all!—Honor to the epoch, when that numerous portion of our fellow-citizens was at length disabused, upon whom they had spread the darkness of error and ignorance, and who by an effect, even of the natural love of justice and liberty, could not bring themselves to believe that in the name of these virtues, Frenchmen were become assassins and tyrants. But as an indellible disgrace to these men, who cruelly abusing a victory sufficiently unnatural, they hasten to persecute those even, who, at the peril of their lives, had restored life and liberty. Ignominy upon those cowardly persecutors, who, by the aid of some words exchanged in the terrible vocabulary of calum-

ny, substituted with a facility so dreadful, a new tyranny upon the one which had just been cast down. There are then men whom no law will touch, no favor soften, no indulgence disarm—men, who hardly raised from the oppression under which they groaned, hasten to arm their tongues with calumny, and their hands with a poniard, against those whom they invoked but the other day as liberators! May this unhappy reflection apply but to times which are gone by!

Thus we have seen tarnished the lustre of the brightest days of the revolution, and the friends of liberty have been constantly bruised between contending factions.

Citizens, these calamitous times will not occur again. Your representatives, your magistrates, ought to secure you from it; they will know how to prevent, until there is a necessity, those crises which shake always that which they repair. Our situation presents difficulties no doubt, but many are pleased to exaggerate unreasonably. In this respect the hopes of hatred, and the miserable calculations of fear, will be disappointed; for our strength is superior to our dangers. Our transient reverses are a delay, but not a defeat. Our armies have been able to preserve intact the sacred territory of the republic; they are re-inforced at this moment with bright and valorous youth, the fresh hope of their country.

Go, young conscripts, and rejoin your predecessors in the career of glory; here we will watch over your families. Let no fear as to the objects of your affections hinder the flight of your courage. We abhor, as much as you, every thing that is contrary to good order and to the tranquillity of the citizen.

No more illegal vengeance, but the firm and calm action of the law,—no more re-actions whatever; the government exists for justice, as you do for victory! It knows its duty—it desires to fulfil it. When triumphing over the enemies of our country you shall return again to your hearths, you will there experience, with the national gratitude and the liberties you will have preserved, repose, security, the guarantee of your property; in a word, all the benefits which have been promised to you, and which we know how to insure to you.

Long live the Republic!

(15) Sitting of the 24th Messidor, year 7.

Law of Hostages.

Article the 1st. When a department, canton or commune, is notoriously in a disturbed state, the executive directory proposes to the legislative body to declare it comprised in the following dispositions:—

2d. The relations of emigrants, their connections, and the heretofore nobles comprised in the laws of the 3d Brumaire, year 4, and 9th Frimaire, year 6: the grandfathers, grandmothers, fathers, and mothers of individuals, who being neither ex-nobles nor relations of emigrants, are, nevertheless, notoriously known as making part of the assemblages or bands of assassins, are personally and civilly responsible for the assassinations and plunderings committed in the interior in hatred to the republic, in the departments, cantons or communes declared to be in a disturbed state.

3d. Immediately after the publication of the law rendered in execution of the first article, the central administrations shall take hostages in the classes aforesaid designated, in the communes,

cantons and departments declared to be in a state of disturbance ; nevertheless, in the event of imminent disturbances, although the department, canton or commune should not yet be declared by the law to be in a disturbed state, the same administrations are provisionally authorized to take hostages, they will inform the executive directory of it within twenty-four hours.

4th. Hostages shall be established at their own expense, in the same place in a commune of the department, under the inspection of the central and municipal administrations, and of commissioners of the executive directory near these same administrations.

5th. Hostages, who in the ten days of the advertisement which shall be notified to them by a gend'arme, do not repair to the place indicated by the administrations, shall be taken there by an armed force ; those who make their escape shall be personally assimilated to the emigrants, considered and treated as such.

6th. The aforesaid dispositions are excepted, the former nobles and relations of emigrants who have constantly filled public functions by the nomination of the people, or who are in the exceptions foreseen in the laws of the 3d Brumaire, year 4, and 9th Frimaire, year 6.

7th. The central administrations shall draw up in the month of the publication of the law which shall appoint the communes, cantons, or departments, in which the present law shall be applicable, in conformity with the first article, a list of all the individuals subject to the personal and civil guarantee consecrated by the second article.

8th. The central administrations will include in this list all the individuals denominated by the second article, domiciliated in their respective arrondissements at the epoch of the 1st of September, 1791.

9th. If a citizen be assassinated, having been since the revolution, or being actually a public functionary, or a defender of his country, or a purchaser or possessor of national domains, the directory, after having consulted the central administrators, is charged to transport out of the territory of the republic, within two decades from the assassination, four of the individuals designated by the second article for each person assassinated ; taken, in the first place, from amongst the noble relations of emigrants ; secondly, from among the heretofore nobles ; and successively from among the relations of individuals forming a part of the meetings.

The carrying off forcibly of the citizens above designated, of their fathers, mothers, wives, or of their children, will occasion the same penalty of transportation, and besides to the fines and indemnities hereafter fixed, if they are not set at liberty within twenty-four hours from the carrying off.

In all cases of the carrying off of one of the persons above denominated, the securities shall be subject to a fine of six thousand francs, without, nevertheless, derogating from the penalties prescribed by the code of crimes and pains against the authors of the crime.

10th. The pain of transportation against hostages shall not take place when one of them shall have formerly denounced and procured the arrest of individuals who shall be afterwards declared guilty of crime.

11th. Sequestration shall be put upon the goods of hostages

transported, and shall continue until the accomplishment of the condemnations pronounced against them, and until the representation of a legal certificate verifying that they submit to their transportation.

12th. The infraction of the transportation shall be assimilated to emigration, for the personal effects only of the transported.

13th. Independently of the pain of transportation pronounced by the tenth article aforesaid, individuals denominated in the second article shall be respectively in each department civilly and privately responsible in a fine of five thousand francs for each individual denominated in the ninth article, whether assassinated alone, or in an action, or in any other manner whatever.

14th. The fine of five thousand francs shall be paid within fifteen days, at the utmost, from the assassination or the carrying off, and shall be placed in the treasury of the receiver-general on simple decrees of the central administrations, which shall pronounce, on the remittance of the process verbal, written down either by the municipal agents or the commissioners of police, or by the justice of the peace, or by the commanders of the armed force.

15th. Besides the fine of five thousand francs placed in the public treasury, the said individuals expressed in the second article shall be civilly and privately guarantees, and responsible for an indemnity which shall not be less than the sum of six thousand francs in favor of the widow, and of three thousand francs for each of the children of the person assassinated.

16th. Citizens of the quality designated in the ninth article who, mutilated, shall survive their wounds, shall be entitled to an indemnity not less than six thousand francs.

17th. Citizens who shall be in execution of a particular mission given to them by a civil authority, or by a military order, devoted to the search of returned emigrants, of transported priests, or subject to transportation of assassins, or who may be assassinated or mutilated in the course or at the termination of this mission, or military order, shall be entitled, they, their wives, and their children, to the same indemnities as above.

18th. The indemnites aforesaid shall be acquitted within ten days after the decree of the central administration.

19th. Individuals comprised in the second article are equally, in each department, civilly and wholly responsible, as well towards the republic as towards private persons, for the abductions, gatherings, exactions of farm-rents, spoliations of public moneys, as also of burnings, degradations, and pillagings committed upon properties.

20th. The indemnities resulting from crimes comprised in the preceding article shall be regulated by a decree of the central administrations in the said days which shall follow the crime, and be acquitted within the ten days following; they shall be equivalent to the things pillaged, burnt, or destroyed. The securities shall besides be held liable to a penalty to the public treasury equal to the value of the said things.

21st. The indemnities due to the nation on account of the carrying off of the public moneys, of burnings, degradations, or pillaging of the national properties, shall be paid into the respective treasuries which refer to the things pillaged or destroyed.

22d. The central administrations shall regulate the indemnities

and fines after the examination of the process verbal digested by the municipal agents or commissioners of police, or judges of the peace, or commanding the armed force according to the informations they will think proper to take.

23d. The municipal agents, or commissioners of police, justices of the peace, and commanders of the armed force, shall be bound to draw up their process verbal, and within three days from the commission of the crime; but when the crime shall have been committed in the commune, where the municipal agent or commissioner of police, commander of the armed force and justice of the peace, reside, the process verbal shall be written down conjointly by the first, and separately by the justice of the peace: it must be addressed to the central administration the fourth day after the commission of the crime.

24th. The municipal agents or commissioners of police, judges of the peace, and commanders of the armed force, who shall not write down or send their process verbal in the periods fixed by the preceding article, shall individually incur a penalty of three hundred francs each.

25:h. The penalties named in articles thirteen, twenty, and twenty-fourth, shall be placed in the treasury of the receiver-general of the department, who will open a particular account for this purpose, which is to be specially applied to citizens aiding in arresting an emigrant, or a priest returned from transportation, or subject to transportation, or an individual forming a part of the bands of assassins marked upon the list.

26th. The rewards mentioned in the preceding article are fixed; that is to say, for an emigrant or a priest returned from, or subject to transportation, or a chief of assassins, the sum of from three hundred to two thousand four hundred francs; and for other individuals making part of the bands of assassins, from two hundred to six hundred francs. These rewards shall be regulated by the central administrations.

27th. The gend'armes and national guards, sedentary or actively employed against the bands of assassins, shall be entitled to the same rewards.

28th. The rewards shall be paid by the receiver-general of the departments by drafts upon the central administrations, from the funds arising from the penalties named and paid in by virtue of the present law.

29th. The rewards granted to the gend'armes and national guards, sedentary or in activity, shall be equally distributed amongst the soldiers who shall have aided in the arrest of individuals designated in the twenty-sixth article aforesaid.

30th. In default of funds in the treasury of the receiver-general of the department accruing from penalties, individuals named in the second article shall be bound to pay in to the treasury of the said receiver the whole amount of the rewards accorded, within ten days from the decree of the receiver-general.

31st. In default of the individuals called upon to pay, of placing in the above mentioned periods the penalties, indemnities and rewards here above mentioned, they will be condemned by the civil tribunal of the department by process from the commission of the executive directory to the same tribunal. The central administrations will, therefore, be bound to address to the same commissioner

a copy of the decree bearing the fixed rates of the said penalties, indemnities or rewards, with a statement of the property of individuals called upon for payment, to put under sequestration the goods of these individuals, until the condemnations are accomplished, under pain of one thousand francs penalty against each of the members of the said administration.

32d. The commissioner of the executive directory near the tribunal shall be bound, under pain of one thousand francs penalty, to furnish his suit to the civil tribunal within three days from the receipt of the decree of the central administration; and within three days following the tribunal shall be equally bound, under pain of one thousand francs penalty against each of its members, to pronounce upon the simple view of the said decree.

33d. The penalties aforesaid shall have the same destination as that mentioned in the twenty-fifth article aforesaid.

34th. If within three days after the notification of the judgment given by the civil tribunal, the individual or individuals condemned do not pay into the treasury of the receiver-general the amount of the said penalties, indemnities or rewards, and expenses relating thereto, they will be compelled by distress and the sale of their goods, and by means of bonds in the forms prescribed.

35th. The judgments given by the civil tribunals shall be executed, notwithstanding an appeal.

36th. The central administrations, on the advice of the municipal administrations, shall prepare in the month of the publication of the law which shall designate the communes, cantons or departments, where the present law shall be applicable, a list of all the individuals notorious as forming a part of the bands of assassins.

37th. The individuals forming a part of the said assemblages or bands of assassins known, and who prove to be of the class of artisans, workmen or cultivators, shall be admitted within fifteen days from the publication of the law indicating the departments, cantons or communes in which the present law shall be executed, to return freely to their homes without molestation, on condition that the said individuals present themselves within the said period to the central administration, and there deposite a good single barrelled musket, or a good double barrelled one. The central administrations are authorized to erase definitively those individuals who shall deposite arms within the said period, from the list prepared in execution of the preceding article.

38th. The chiefs already pardoned shall not enjoy the faculty granted by the preceding article, whatever may have been their rank; nor the heretofore privileged, though without rank, pardoned or not; nor the emigrants, nor the transported priests returned, or subject to transportation, the law concerning these last remaining in all its force.

39th. All the individuals placed upon the list prepared in virtue of the thirty-sixth article, who will not take the benefit of the thirty-seventh article in the period prescribed, are personally assimilated to the emigrants, considered and treated as such; they shall, therefore, be brought before a military commission, and be condemned to death, whether they shall have been taken armed or not.

40th. The grandfathers, grandmothers, fathers and mothers, placed upon the list prepared in execution of the thirty-sixth article, and who shall not profit by the advantages of the thirty-seventh

article aforesaid, are personally assimilated to the ancestors of emigrants, and submit to the same indemnity in the forms and in the periods prescribed for the latter without taking a valuation of the minimum of property.

41st. Individuals who shall be convicted of having knowingly given asylum to assassins, shall be subjected to the civil and personal security mentioned in the second article.

42d. The lists prepared in execution of the articles seven and thirty-six, shall be printed and published in all the communes of the respective departments within the four decades following the publication of the law indicating the communes, cantons or departments, where the present law shall receive its application. The said lists shall besides be addressed within the said period to the minister of general police.

43d. By means of the dispositions aforesaid, the law of the 10th Vendemaiaire, year 4, shall cease to have its application, only as to the responsibility established upon the communes, to note the publication of the law which shall declare the present decree to be executed in a department, canton or commune. The laws aiming at the prevention or punishment of crimes, will continue to be executed in whatever is not contrary to the present.

44th. When a department, canton or commune, is declared in a state of disturbance, the effect of this declaration ceases only by a law.

45th. The present law shall not receive its execution until the general peace; it shall be proclaimed and published in all the communes of the republic.

(16) The legislative body to the French nation :

Frenchmen—It is upon your dearest interests—it is upon the invaluable benefits of internal tranquillity—it is upon the means of recalling it and establishing it among you, that your representatives feel the need of addressing you at this time. Frenchmen—dreadful civil dissensions seem already to revive in some departments of the West and of the South, threatening to extend their ravages upon other points of the republic.

To arrest their progress, legislators must take severe but necessary measures against men which a long and unhappy experience has but too greatly signalized as the plotters of our discords.

But the restraints of the law must not be left alone to the voice of reason.

It is to you especially that we address ourselves, plain men whom malevolent persons too often seize upon in order to make you serve as instruments to their views, subversive of order as established by the constitution and the laws.

Perfidious men!—they pretend to pity you; they would not incense you; they recount to you without ceasing the evils of the revolution; they do not tell you that by their opposition they were the first promoters of it.

In speaking of your interests, they are only mindful of their own, and would seize again their ancient usurpations.

What!—would it then be for the re-establishment of tithes, of statute labor, of feudalism, that they would endeavor to arm Frenchmen against Frenchmen?

Good and honest inhabitants of the provinces, how can you regret such a regime, and to recall it would be madness!

Citizens of all ranks, inhabitants of cities and of villages, have you forgotten what your political regeneration had in it that was touching and sublime in the first periods of the revolution?

No; such recollections can never be effaced, and you will not again embrace the chains that you have broken with indignation; you would not submit with impunity; you who at some epoch or other had served the revolution, royal vengeances would know well how to reach you.

And you, insensible men, who saw the revolution without enthusiasm; but without hatred, do you think that you would not be reproached for your simple indifference by your insolent conquerors?

Your interest towards all is to remove from the soil of France this torrent of misfortunes which would overwhelm it, if the criminal hopes of some could be realized.

Let, therefore, civil dissensions cease, and leave our only cares to repel the external enemy.

Citizens, in the midst of a dreadful war which perhaps ought not so long to have existed, and at the end of a disastrous administration, you suffer, no doubt; your representatives sigh over it; they will labor without intermission to prevent the recurrence of evils which accompanied several epochs of the revolution.

They will know how to receive in concert with the regenerated executive directory, when it shall be presented, a peace worthy of the French nation and its allies.

But this peace—the object of our vows and yours—this peace, which ought to draw again upon the territory of France abundance and prosperity do not compromise it or remove it by civil discords, and if there remain sacrifices to make, let them be for your country, and not to destroy one another.

What! shall the blood of Frenchmen flow for that of any other cause but that of liberty?

And are there men mad enough to hope for happiness in the end from a civil war?

Carcasses heaped up, fields devastated, houses burnt, and would there not then be other objects of terror?

Far be from us the thought that such a course of moral degradation should be admitted in the general system.

However bands of royal assassins show themselves in different departments and attack republicans; these germs of a new civil war cannot come to the knowledge of your representatives without their seeking, at the same time, the means of putting them down, by offering to republicans a guarantee against their enemies—this is what they are about to do. Patriots, preserve or resume an energetic and firm attitude, the legislative body and the directory have determined to make the republic triumphant.

And you who were the blind instruments for the assassination of republicans—you artisans and husbandmen whom they reckon amongst the bands of assassins, return to your workshops and your ploughs; lay down the arms you wish to turn against your country; your peaceful retreats call you home; your productive fields should not be converted into fields of blood. You, in fine, ex-nobles, relations of emigrants, and ancestors of rebels—you who had so great an influence over the misfortunes of your country—you who could hinder crime, and who counsel it so often, consider that you are today responsible for the tranquillity of the interior. Strive then to

maintain it; for it is at this price alone that you will be one day admitted to all the rights with the other children of the great family.

Let the departments infested with Choreanism return to order, if they wish to partake of the common rights; let the departments which are strangers to civil troubles, continue to merit an honorable exception; let, in a word, internal peace be established on a solid basis, and soon without, we shall resume the attitude of victory.

(17) Speech delivered by the citizen Sièyes, president of the executive directory, at the celebration of the 10th of August:

I salute you in the name of all Frenchmen, day of justice and of glory, which the destinies of France had at length fixed to settle the national independence upon the downfall of the throne. On the tenth of August royalty was overthrown in France—it shall never rise again. Citizens, such is the oath which you have engraven upon the walls of this palace, at the moment even when you drove from it the last of our tyrants. Thus disappeared this long succession of despots, whose yoke had become unsupportable, who called themselves the delegates of heaven, in order to oppress with more security the earth, which in France they beheld as their patrimony—the French people as their subjects—the laws but as the expression of their good pleasure. The hereditary influence had so far familiarized us with this ridiculous language, that perhaps even at this time it does not sufficiently astonish our ears.

In this last combat there remained for the defenders of royalty the boldness and cowardice of a corrupt court: the perfidy, the insolence, and the deceitful aids of slavery; it had for adversaries, courage, a firm will, the enthusiasm of new liberty, and the generous virtues which it inspires. The struggle could not be long, the victory could not be doubtful.

But with royalty could not be annihilated in a day all the interests with which it is associated, all the institutions which were too much identified with it. In republican France, royalty preserves both friends and avengers. The one does not disguise even its efforts to revive it. Founding their hope upon I know not what fraternity of thrones, and upon the more real alliances between the throne and the altar, they arm around us a part of Europe, they re-light in the midst of us the torches of fanaticism.

The other more perfidious declaimers burning against royalty; but the secret and not less implacable enemies of those, who, having destroyed it, bend to every form of language, unite their rage, surpass in excesses, in the double hope of avenging the throne upon its real destroyers, to make it regretted by those even who had most applauded its overthrow.

Thus the republic has been constantly a mark for direct or indirect aggressions, attacks equally formidable. Citizens, it is not deviating from the spirit of this fête to tell you of the means employed by your representatives and your magistrates, in order that they might triumph over so many obstacles, and associate your patriotism with their efforts; it is still to strike at royalty—it is to continue, in some manner, to complete the victory of the 10th of August.

To the open enterprises of royalty, the republic opposes, without remission, the deployment of all the national forces—opposes laws without compassion to the deserter of our country—terrible measures to all the communes agitated with royalism— indefatigable

surveillance upon all intrigues, upon the manœuvres of those who dare to speak of its return. Whoever at this moment would deny either these means, or the republican will of those who direct them, can only be either a madman or a man not to be trusted.

To indirect aggressions we might reply by repressive measures, the constitution and the laws give the right. But, because your magistrates are stout republicans, because they know that in this class of aggressors Frenchmen are mingled who are carried away by their love for the republic—and it would be with inconsolable regret that they should find themselves compelled to be severe towards those who have been able to serve the cause of liberty—it is rather by earnest and fraternal advice that they would reach them, for they cannot renounce the hope of bringing back to the true interests of the republic men whose actions may have appeared doubtful, but whose intentions have remained pure. It is then to these that we address ourselves to make known to them this small number of false patriots who agitate and torment them—who infuse into the mind absurd ideas, and extravagant or guilty hopes. The present circumstances create a duty. I go to fulfil it.

Citizens, whatever these men may be whom I persist in considering a small number, foreigners or natives, kept in pay by the enemy, or obeying only their passions, desiring the speedy return of royalty, or preferring the return of that terror so justly abhorred by Frenchmen, I will exclaim: Be on your guard as republicans, in looking up to those who see in the overturning of the throne, not the means of establishing a new government desired by the nation, but the right at all times to overturn every thing which would obstruct their individual ambition. Those who think that to strengthen is cowardice, to destroy a glory; who, unruly enemies of every thing which constitutes order, or even the appearance of order, wish to govern by crises, and not by laws, who would destroy with their own hands the government which they themselves had formed, because a government, even of their own making, could not always accomplish at will the projects of their avidity—all the ravings of their madness.

No, they are not republicans who have not yet been able to revoke, to pardon friends of liberty the most ancient and the most incorruptible, who insult them always by reason even of the confidence with which the nation honors them, or from the magnitude of the services which they have rendered. Conquerors of the 10th of August, you to whom is addressed the homage of this day, you have not yourselves been able to escape these calumniators, who would do so with every name, and who dim the lustre of every glory!

They are not republicans whose servile soul cannot conceive that the founders of liberty and of the republic were republicans; who repeating the ravaging injuries of this same court, which the 10th of August has overthrown, and which they revenge since they imitate it. They yet seek at the present time to impute to them, as the object of their secret vows, I know not what phantom of a king, paraded by turns before all those whom they wish to destroy: senseless detractors, or hypocrites, who, shutting their eyes against all evidence, persist in being ignorant that men, especially those most frequently attacked by this absurd accusation, have a thousand times, and from the origin of the revolution, manifested their ardent desire that this man, whom I do not wish

to name, might have remained, he and his own for ever in the enemy's ranks, instead of carrying disquiet, distrust, and danger into our own.

No, they are not republicans those who, through their democratical language, allow the shameful predilection which they preserve for royal superstitions to be easily seen through, and seem every moment to tell you, that since you have attacked a king, they can with much greater reason attack the magistrates of the people.

No, they are not republicans, those who only know how to gather, to stir up, to excite discontents against established order, those who in other times think, that in order to govern, you must punish with death whoever should dare not to be content; those to whom peace would be a misfortune, who dread victory, who calculate upon our reverses for the increase of their influence; those who hope for internal dissensions, are only happy from the stirring up of hatred; they denounce with boldness before the multitude, and tremble when they have to sign a denunciation; who always thirsting for vengeance, are angry at the salutary slowness which the law commands, both to save the innocent and to reach with certainty the guilty—who by the madness of their provocations bring fear upon the peaceful citizen, dry up the sources of public wealth, blast credit, annihilate commerce, paralyze all exertion, who speak without ceasing of misfortunes, and augment the number of the unfortunate, call themselves the friends of the people, and only know how to exasperate instead of serving them; are incensed against the exterior enemy, but are thoroughly decided not to contend with him.

Is it then because they repeat with more noise, the real movements of our common indignation against dilapidators and traitors, that they hope to impose upon you? But people in their daily experience, have they not learned that it is not always the men who speak the loudest that are the most free from reproach?—that many denounce, in order that they may not be denounced. And whom will they persuade that those who govern do not experience a civic grief much more sincere, much more profound, than theirs at the painful spectacle of evils done to our country, and at the moment, especially, when they are called upon to seek a remedy?

Have they given more security for their morality and their civism? Do they enjoy a reputation more pure? Are they more austere in their manners, more of citizens? And if their indignation be real, instead of these clamors which are only addressed to the passions, and who would sooner protect the guilty, because they surround them with those who are not so; why do we not see them aid usefully the action of the law in multiplying searches, in gathering proofs—in fact, in enlightening the magistrates? But why should I delay to mention it, their aim is certainly not justice: it is to infatuate the public with suspicion; it is to carry confusion and discouragement into every mind; it is to drive Frenchmen to despair; it is to plunge every thing into confusion; it is, in a word, to govern at any price whatever. Frenchmen, you know how to govern! The executive directory knows all the enemies who conspire against the republic. In the midst of these agitations it has just signalized who are few in number, but appear to multiply by report; it does not lose sight of other royalists of incurable mad-

ness who aspire to a master, who would call them back from all their vows, from all their actions, and who reckon so justly as their auxiliaries whoever menaces at the present time the constitution and government. It declares to you that it will be equally inflexible against all; that superior to danger, calm in the midst of the storm, it will combat them all without weakness and without intermission; not in balancing them one against another—this im-politic and cruel game would be unworthy of the republic—but in repressing them all equally by the aid of energetic measures, which the constitution of the year 3 secures, and the immense majority of citizens resolved to defend it: to obey only the laws and to rally round at all times the tutelary authorities.

Long live the Republic!

(18) Message of the executive directory to the council of ancients of the 17th Thermidor.

Citizen Representatives—

The executive directory has received your message of the 13th of this month, concerning societies occupied with political questions, and it hastens to send it to the minister of police with orders to make a prompt report upon the subject. You will find here added the report which contains the information you have demanded.

The directory, deeply impressed with the necessity of maintaining every thing in constitutional order, and of repressing those who would disturb it, will employ those measures which circumstances require: you may in this respect rely upon its courage and its devotion, as it likewise places its confidence in its union with the legislative body, and in the laws and means which it will furnish to secure individual safety, and public tranquillity . . . Report of the ministers of police to the executive directory—

Citizen Directors—You have directed me to make to you a report relative to political societies; to relate to you the course they have pursued since their establishment, and neither to conceal from you their services nor their errors. I owe you the truth as a minister. I will speak it as a minister and a citizen. There never was a more important and more delicate institution ever submitted to the consideration of legislators—it interests essentially (I dare to say it) both the republic and liberty.

After the 30th Praireal the citizens, restored to the full exercise of their rights, did not delay to re-unite themselves in political societies. These re-unions legitimate, for rights were favored in the hope that they would re-animate public spirit, almost extinguished from a variety of causes which are known to you, and that they would direct towards the salvation of their country all the movements of thought, and all the passions of the soul. The end was glorious, the route easy; the first steps were circumspect, and courage and energy did not disdain at first the counsels and language of an enlightened prudence. Citizens gathered in crowds, and this happy concourse proved to the enemies of liberty, that notwithstanding so many grieved losses, after such long persecutions, and such bitter disgusts, the ranks of republicans were not thinned, nor their generous ardor exhausted—a terrible experience to our enemies, a sure token of their defeats. From these political re-unions the most happy results were expected for our country. It was hoped that their burning and prolific zeal, seconding the

patriotism and the ardor of the authorities would powerfully concur in raising public spirit to drive the conscripts to the frontiers, and to strengthen in their hearts the passion for victory. It grieves me to say it, the breath of the stranger has dissipated all these hopes. Hatreds, weakened by the benefit of time, have been suddenly revived with fresh activity—recollections hardly effaced, recalled with the most dreadful preparation—past proscriptions reproduced to the imagination by the announcement of new proscriptions—accusations become all at once general and irregular—the guilty are skilfully confounded with the crowd. In fine, the constitution, in virtue, of which they were united, has been evaded and openly violated at several points.

In effect the constitution forbids presidents and secretaries. They have named a regulator and commentators. The constitution says textually, no particular political society can hold public sittings composed of an assembly and members of the society distinguished from each other! There has been constantly assemblies and members of societies. The constitution interdicts collective petitions, and every thing which bears the character of legislation or of executive authority.. They have named a commission of public instruction. The particular object of this commission is the publication every decade of a report on the situation of the republic. Other commissions have also been named. These united commissions have made a report to the society upon a notification to the council of ancients, relative to the evacuation of the hall called the Manége at the end of this report—they have decreed to obey only by an order from the council taken during sittings.

The commission of public instruction has distributed and placarded another report, in which it seeks to exasperate the people, and to inspire them with distrust of the intentions of magistrates, whom republicans themselves have chosen ; they speak of continuators of Merlin, of Familiars, of the Protectorate, of Restorers of the throne of '91, of a pentarchical royalty ; they affirm that the people can only be regenerated and constituted but by popular heads. The society, which ought only to be occupied with political questions, and with means proper to revive public spirit, is carried away without ceasing, beyond its design by interests, affections, or personal hatreds, to which a more sincere love of their country would, no doubt, have imposed a salutary silence ; it has hardly ever attached itself but to persons and things which would give to the most direful passions a new degree of intensity.

These transgressions, these irregularities, these violences, are not only seen, but we are struck with them. These first movements, it is true, may be considered as the consequences of that long pressure which weighed upon the republic before the 30th Praireal.—Such are the effects of oppression, it leaves in the souls of men the most just, the seeds of disquietude and the relics of indignation.—Nevertheless, every indulgence which ought to be granted to these first digressions is granted, but prudence counsels severity for the future.

The political re-unions, as they exist at the present day, make the joy and the hope of the stranger ; it has thrown already in their bosom its most perfidious emissaries.

It is such who, in exaggerating the most important truths, render them doubtful ; it is such who have established a tyranny of

opinions in the midst even of political re-unions; it is such who pervert the influence of them, and who turn against liberty the securities of liberty; it is such who weaken the republican party, and who place impediments upon the march of the authorities in surrounding the chariot of the constitution with animosities and vengeance.

It must not, however, be doubted, that if the political re-unions contain so many and such dangerous elements of dissolution and discord, is it not because they have issued from constitutional forms and limits.

The constitution has proclaimed the principle, and consecrated the existence of political societies, but legislative measures are wanting, and it is only by such that we can hope to reap, with the advantages promised, still greater benefits. The necessity of these measures they themselves feel. Thrown upon an immense soil, almost without limits, they have been irresistably exposed to every species of error, seduction and snare. Contract the circle, trace the limits, regulate the movements which are proper to them; this is to second their vows. Then better directed, sustained by more worthy motives and more powerful interests, the enthusiasm which they will know how to inspire and to revive, will turn entirely to the advantage of the republic.

The minister of police has not distinguished the political re-unions from one another, because they have almost all followed the same errors, and that those which have been successively established, appear gradually to be formed under the influence of those which had been first formed.

I cannot, therefore, citizen directors, too much dwell upon the necessity of taking prompt legislative measures which may at once protect the interior discussions of political re-unions, and restrain them without, with all the power of the republic.

Citizen directors, in the account which I am about to render you, I have not desired to weaken the truth; no consideration shall hinder me from fulfilling my duties. All who have in their hearts the true love of country will respect my courage; I only know how to attach a value to the consciences of free men.

Paris, the 15th Thermidor, year 7. The Minister of General Police.

(Signed,) (19) *Citizen Representatives—*

FOUCHE.

The directory is occupied without intermission in remedying the evils of our country; it redoubles its zeal and energy in proportion as the dangers it discovers command new efforts for its devotion, and new precautions for its prudence.

Already it has traced to you the picture of public dangers—to disseminate them before you would be a crime. Yes, citizen representatives, royalism, emboldened, conspires with audacity; its agents invest themselves in every form, put on every disguise, borrow every form of language; every where we find them marching to the same end by different routes; they labor for the destruction of the republic by the efforts of an open hatred, as well by the perfidy of a false zeal by the attacks of an open war, as by the hypocrisy of an excess of patriotism.

The stranger keeps up war upon our frontiers, and discord in

our homes; he has in our cities his spies and his traitors, as also his satellites and his generals in the armies of the enemy.

The cabinets of the coalition desire to facilitate conquest without, by preparing destruction within; they desire to aggravate the embarrassments of exterior war, by the dangers of civil war; they wish to add to the power of their solemn alliance the plots of their underhand conspirators. Unhappy successes have followed the efforts of our enemies. In the West the monarchy has re-armed its ancient bands of assassins; in the North, fanaticism kindles again her bloody torch; in the South, all the re-actions prepare for fresh furies, and during this time our phalanxes, so long invincible, are exasperated at being forced to cede to the superiority of number.

The directory employs every means in its power in order to recall victory under the banners of the republic; to bring back peace to the departments; to re-establish order in the finances, and to revive patriotism in all hearts.

It hoped to have been seconded in its efforts by the revival of public spirit; it flattered itself that the re-unions of citizens which the constitution authorizes by keeping within the line which has been marked out to them, would become the centre of civism, and of knowledge, guarantees of union and tranquillity. It has seen with grief, that in a commune which contains so great a number of good citizens, a society is formed in the Rue du Bacq, which is become the centre of all the passions. They there exercise their influence to revive hatreds, and to awaken dangerous reminiscences. In vain have you encouraged good citizens by the solemn proclamation of your attachment to the constitution of the year 3. Clamors have drowned the accents of your consoling voices, renewed alarms, your intentions outraged, and your labors insulted by menacing the people, with the necessity of saving themselves.

These forms, these speeches, these cries, have recalled excesses and misfortunes, which the whole republic is resolved to prevent the recurrence. Then fear silenced energy, shook fidelity, hope vanished, and a general disquietude seized upon all minds.

Republicans believe themselves menaced at the same time by the armies of kings, by the horrors of the monarchy, and by the furies of a new overthrow.

The directory must say to you, citizen representatives, that the legislative body, the executive power of a great republic, ought to be upheld by public opinion, encouraged by devotedness, and rewarded by the esteem of patriots; they cannot deceive themselves, as to the ascendancy always increasing in a state of an unlimited reunion of individuals. This ascendancy becomes dangerous to social order, when this mass of men, ignorant for the most part of their strength, and of the use to which it is destined, receive without knowing it their ideas, their projects, and even a name from the hands of our enemies. The French nation must not fear the return of a monstrous power which it has seen either as a rash rival, or as an audacious regulator of the legitimate and constitutional powers.

It must not be, that in the bosom of the republic, the colossus of a re-union may be raised by which our enemies design to mislead, and where is every day developed the perfidious conduct of their emissaries.

The directory, in order to remedy these evils and prevent these

dangers, has thought it right to repress the continuance of the society of the Rue du Bacq in its infringing conduct upon the constitution; it has ordered the closing of it.

Resolved to follow with firmness the line of its duties, the directory will protect all reunions which shall respect the law, which the French people have sworn to maintain; it will expose the efforts of all those who would disturb them in the exercise of their rights, and it will arrest unceasingly in their secret plans all those who would menace liberty, of which the rigorous observance of this compact is the first guarantee. The law which you will prepare, citizen representatives, the executive directory demands of you with solicitude. Haste the emission of it as much as your wisdom, and the importance, and the mature reflection of it will permit. It will recall citizens to their duties in consecrating anew their rights; it will prevent abuses by making their limits.

These reunions which occupy themselves with political questions, well fulfil the design of their institution; then they will be the hope of republicans, instead of becoming an object of disquietude.

The directory will be no longer compelled to divide its attention between the evils with which royalism and assassination menace us, and the evils, the not less terrible forerunners of the success of tyranny which would follow the abasement or the destruction of the constitutional authorities.

Then societies of republicans, instead of weakening the action of the laws by the example of their violation, would add to the social security; they would inflame the courage of the co-scribers, they would hasten the collection of all the taxes which would be the price of peace within, the pledge of victory without, and would no more become the prey of dilapidators. Then the societies would rekindle patriotism, silence all alarms; the constitution would be spoken of with respect, the law with submission, legislators and magistrates with decorum, armies with gratitude and pride, liberty with enthusiasm, our country with love, and the republic would be once more saved and triumphant.

(20) It is known that a Jourdan acquired in the massacre of the South, a celebrity as dreadful, as was brilliant and pure that of the conqueror of Fleurus. The terrible Jourdan, chief of the assassins of the South, was surnamed Coup tetes.

(21) Executive directory—message to the council of five hundred of the 17th Fructidor, year 7.

Citizen Representatives—

The council of the ancients has addressed to the executive directory a message to demand of it an account of the execution of the laws made against authors, printers, vendors, bill-stickers, proclamations, addresses provoking the re-establishment of royalty, the overthrow of the republic, and of the constitution of the year 3.

The directory, animated with the same sentiments as the council, occupied with the same solicitudes, and when your message arrived on the necessity of repressing the boldness and of punishing the criminality of revolutionary writings, was the object of its most serious deliberations.

The alarm manifested by the representatives of the people at the moment when the executive power had felt it on its own part, is the guarantee of the happy harmony, the salutary intelligence.

which prevails amongst the first authorities of the republic. This agreement of powers may teach our enemies what they ought to dread from the active vigilance and the inflexible severity of all republican magistrates.

But, at the same time, this conformity of views, this identity of thoughts, this coincidence of disquietude, has prescribed to the directory an examination, more considered, a meditation more profound upon the state of the republic, a resolution more energetic, with regard to those who have conspired against it.

The directory has seen the external efforts of the coalition; it has judged of the power of them; it has calculated its means of resistance, and it has not been terrified. It has said—the republic ought to conquer, because it feels in a manner worthy of the people of France, the immensity of its means, the extent of its resources, the ascendancy of its forces. But when it has desired to unite these means, to collect these resources, to make these forces act, it has found them attenuated, weakened, divided by the fatal action of a power of which it has been found necessary to seek the levers, the points of support, and the agents.

At the first sight, all the instruments of crime and misfortune are unperceived; the insurrections break out far from Paris; the ministers, the commissioners of the directory seek the source of it, the authors of it; they can only find the effects.

A senseless, blind crowd, follow the impulse which is given to it; the conspiring hand which has impressed it escapes inspection. We see fall, struck by republican thunder, the misled citizen to whom they have given arms, whilst the chiefs, who have corrupted his ideas, his sentiments, and who have directed his blows, are not reached by the public vengeance.

The effect of the evil is destroyed or rather suspended; the cause subsists, and gives presage of new misfortunes. The directory finds it always in the corruption of public opinion, and this fatal perverting, this moral corruption, is from the abuse of the liberty of the press; it is to the perfidious distribution of writings infected with maxims subversive of liberty, of order, and of the government which protects them; it is to the propagation of counter-revolutionary ideas, to the predictions of the apostles of royalism, to which it ought to be attributed.

It is not possible to dissemble it, a vast and atrocious conspiracy exists against the republic; it breaks out at all points; it strikes every eye; it attacks all authorities; threatens all true republicans.

What if the conspirators have not yet the insolent boldness to demand witnesses, to require proofs, to challenge the production of matters for conviction? No doubt they wish that their projects were accomplished, to accord with what they had formed; they wish that their crime should be questioned until its accomplishment.

But at this moment every thing betrays and accuses them. The witnesses are the corpses of Republicans slaughtered in the south, massacred in the west, threatened on all sides. The proofs are the insurrections which break out in a department when they are hardly stifled in another. The matters for conviction are the lying writings, the incendiary Journals, the execrable libels with which the Republic is inundated.

What must be done at this moment to ensure the common safety, the triumph of our armies and peace of which victory is the token?—There only requires to be a prompt union of forces and wills, a solemn concert between the people, its representatives, its magistrates; let there be the active execution of military laws, organizing our battalions, and vivifying laws to fill the public treasury.

Well, citizen representatives, the periodical sheets, the daily bills, the pamphlets out of number with which the Republic is covered, sow division amongst the citizens, inspire suspicion and hatred against the representatives and the magistrates of the people, remove the conscripts from the colors, and stop the sources of the public revenue.

The audacious writers always divide themselves into two bands, whose suggestions and inspirations produce the same effects, they march separately but they unite at a point assigned: they follow two opposite routes; but the tomb of the Constitution is their common rendezvous. The death of the Government is the rallying word of their impious cohorts.

The one preach openly contempt to Republican laws and the return to royalty.

The other in speaking of the Republic, in proclaiming themselves the privileged Apostles, its exclusive defenders, attack it in its elements and wish to arrive at its destruction by the annihilation of the powers which maintain it, of the laws which preserve it, and of the Constitution which establishes it.

Some, as the Quotidienne, the Mirror, and other journals, struck by the law of the 21st Fructidor, lavish upon legislators, directors, generals, members of civil and military administrations all the insults, and all the outrages, they reproach the Republic with the crimes of tyranny, Republicans with the atrocities which Kings have committed, they have commanded crimes, they have paid for them, and they have then accused of them, those who have been their victims.

Others, as the Journal, which the freemen are exasperated to see bear their name, calumniate, denounce, abuse the oldest soldiers, the warmest friends, the most devoted admirers of Liberty and of the Republic.

For them no legislator is virtuous, no magistrate is patriotic, no administration is pure, the general who has just rallied an army is a traitor.

In their eyes no law is good, no determination is useful, no measure is salutary. According to their judgment, the legislature is without energy, without knowledge, the directory without courage, the citizens without devotedness, the country without children. To believe them the public safety could only be hoped for from a regeneration, which, after their manner is but destruction. They appeal by their vows and their regrets to the times which preceded the Constitutional regime. Citizen representatives, the Executive directory cannot deceive itself. The true and immediate agents of the conspiracy which occasion these alarms, are this double band of parricidal writers.—The causes of our internal troubles are in the odious vocabulary of their venomous writings. Transport yourselves in thought into those departments where distance

renders the truth more slow in being arrived at; where the want of information renders it more difficult to lay hold of.

Royalism on one side accuses the Republican regime with all the sacrifices, with all the privations which Kings impose upon us, by the dangers with which they surround us.

Those who deck themselves on the colors of patriotism, present in other terms the same thoughts, cause to be heard the same clamors, they reproach the Government with the continuance of evils and of perils which they have hindered it to remedy.

This concert of accusation against legitimate authorities, scatters fear and discouragement, destroys patriotism and leads the abused and dejected citizens into error from calumny, and into crime from despair. What can the feeble dyke which the laws and the tribunal oppose, do against the devastating torrent.

The laws are insufficient, and from that time the tribunals are without action. What avails it to these conspirators of all shades, a denunciation which only strikes their names, and leaves to subsist and envenom still their writings; an accusation before a tribunal whose authority they insult by their boldness, whose blow they avoid by absence, whose condemnation they would brave by flight. It is necessary to take such a part that in preparing the punishment of the crime we should suspend the action and the consequences.

In this difficult position the Directory has sought what resolutions were demanded by the state of the country, what resolutions were permitted by the law.

It considers that it has found the rule of its duties, and the limit of its authority in the 145th Article of the Constitution, which says:

"If the Directory is informed that some conspiracy is being hatched against the internal and external safety of the state, it may ordain mandates to bring in, and mandate of arrest, against those who are presumed to be the authors and accomplices."

Convinced that the conspiracy exists, that most dangerous agents are those who devise, prepare, provoke the destruction of the established government, who sow division amongst all the citizens, establish them by taking them for granted, defame all reputations, calumniate all intentions, stir up all parties, animate all factions, rekindle all hatred, threaten all powers, discredit all measures, discourage all agents, disparage the national representation, enervate the executive authority, insult the whole nation,—the directory has ordained mandates of arrest against the authors and printers of the Official Bulletin, of the armies of the coalition, of the Parisienne, of the Quotidienne, of the Courier de Paris, of the Democrat, of the Mirror, of the Feuille du Jour, of the Recessaire, of the Freemen, of the Gzondeur, of the Defender of the Country, being a continuation to the Friend of the People. It has ordered that the seals shall be placed upon the presses and the cabinets of the authors and printers of these journals.

Citizen representatives, the law authorizes, the circumstances require the preservative act which the Directory announces to you; it is a duty to wrest from the hands of a few parricidal corrupt and bold conspirators, the fatal weapons wherewith to destroy their country; without this determination the people would impute their sufferings to their representatives, to their magistrates, in-

stead of accusing circumstances over which they could have no control.

The armies would attribute to dilapidation or to malevolence, privations which a penury, about to cease, has but too much prolonged.

Citizens of all conditions would regard the Republican regime as the source of evils which arise only from the attacks by which they strive to destroy it.

In conclusion, error propagated would have multiplied error, falsehood would have continued to sow hatred, calumny would not have ceased to prepare crime, revolt would have brought civil war, the overthrow would have raised royalty again.

The Constitution had foreseen the danger, it had prepared the remedy; the Directory has made use of it. The accused are in the hands of the law, it will pronounce upon them.

However a law upon the abuses of the press would have prevented the return of evils of which the Directory is about to arrest the progress.

In the mean time, until this law is produced, public opinion will no longer be daily perverted, the arrest of the Journalists, the silence of the passions which they stir up, will permit the truth to be heard. The Directory should say to the people that it is about, in an address, to enlighten them with respect to their interests, to encourage them with respect to their dangers, without concealing them, to develop their resources without exaggerating them, and to revive hopes in giving them the measure of their strength.

Thus the coalition baffled, conquered in the interior will soon be conquered upon the frontiers, thus justice and power will ensure the return of order and prepare for the return of peace.

The Directory invites you to take into your most prompt consideration the object of this message which it has addressed to you on the crimes of the Press.

Signed, Syeyes, President.

Signed, Lagarde, Secretary General.

22nd. The Executive Directory to the French nation of the 17th Fructidor, year 7 of the French Republic.

Frenchmen,—

It is in the name of the common safety, in the name of the interests of the country that the Directory addresses itself to you, that it would rally you round the standard of the Republic.

In vain factions disturb, in vain crime conspires, in vain the stranger rewards, stirs up, and sets the passions in a flame.

People of France, the voice of your magistrates will borrow from yourselves a force, a power capable of making itself heard, of making the truth resound from one extremity of the Republic to the other.

Republicans hear the depositories of authority, it is of you they wish to speak, it is for your advantage they wish to persuade you, it is for your interests that they need to convince you.

Learn from the Directory what is the nature of the dangers of your country: it is convinced that the majority of Frenchmen are resolved to remove from the Republic all the misfortunes which threaten it; that personal interest demands this resolution even from those with whom the love of liberty and their country is not

sufficient to awaken it. But this disposition of mind will be sterile without fruit, if we do not submit to those sacrifices which the law commands, if we do not silence the factions, if we do not know how to protect ourselves from egotism, if we do not place our faces together in order to dissipate fears and realize hopes.

Learn that no League of Tyrants has ever triumphed over a great people, if a part of the people is not become an accomplice in this tyranny by neglecting to develop the means of defence, if it has not beforehand weakened by its divisions.

Learn that the resentments of your enemies threaten you all, that you would all be struck by their vengeance.

Learn that the return of royalty would increase tenfold the evils and the sacrifices of which you complain, and that the only way of shortening the duration of them, and of diminishing their extent, is the resolution to bear them with energy and to devote yourself with courage.

Learn in fact that you are placed between the shame of yielding, and the glory of conquering, that if you are conquered, infamy will not save you from misfortune, if you are victorious, happiness and repose will make you forget the days of suffering and alarm: peace and abundance will repair all losses, and will be the reward of all sacrifices.

No doubt there is in the bosom of the Republic a considerable mass of citizens who are disinterested admirers, and generous lovers of liberty.

No doubt there are a great number of minds in which burns the fire of a pure patriotism, in which reigns the most lively and profound sentiments of French honor and of national dignity. These are exasperated at the thought of seeing the territory of our allies defiled, and stained with blood from the presence and the arms of despots.

They do not calculate whether liberty has need of them for its defence, they feel that they have need of liberty in order to their existence; they love the laws of the Republic, they cherish its principles, and hate in an equal degree the maxims of despots, the debasing forms of their courts, the shameful bondage of their courtiers, and their slaves.

These have nothing which they are not ready to sacrifice for their country. Their fortune and their lives are devoted to the defence of liberty. To these ardent Republicans is united a crowd of those who have given a pledge to the resolution, having been seen only in the ranks of the friends of equality, having been reckoned amongst the number of its defenders, know that their names are proscribed by Tyrants. How many Citizens there are who forget or who dissemble their title to the hatred, their rights to their resentment, to the vengeance of the friends of the throne, if it should ever raise itself again!"

Let them abjure so unhappy an allusion as well for them as for their country. Let them know that amongst all Frenchmen, a very small number excepted, there exists a common responsibility for all the events of the revolution.

These shades of opinion, these disastrous denominations which have sent to the scaffold or devoted to the poinard the patriotism and the courage, the talents and the virtue which still at the present time divide Republican France, in the eyes of those who look with-

in, they exist only for strangers, and emigrants, the disciples of royalty. The coalition would make the tricolor Flag, the funeral flag of all those who have hoisted it as of all those who have followed it, of those who planted it upon the walls of the Bastille on the 14th of July, as of those who raised it upon the Tuilleries the 10th of August. The Constituents, the Legislators of 1791 and the Conventionists of 1792 are a bond in the eyes of the coalition for the overthrow of despotism, and the overthrow of the Throne.

The oath taken at the Tennis Court to Liberty, is to them a crime equal to all those which have been committed since the Republic.

You do not know how the royalists under the power of whom the coalesced powers wish to make you return, are rigorous in the examination of conduct and in the judgment of opinions, how few amongst you are innocent and pure in their eyes. You do not know how they have treated even amongst the Emigrants those who had not professed their religious respect, their profound submission to the senseless dogma of absolute despotism.

You are ignorant, perhaps, that several of these monarchical protestants have been obliged to conquer by singular combats the shameful honor of obtaining a place in the ranks of the army of Conde.

You would not suspect with what fury the hired writers of England and of the council of the Pretender inspired by aristocratic and priestly hatred, proclaim resentments and call for vengeance. If the bloody pages of the history of England, or the reign of Charles and of James the 2d, do not suffer to depict to you the fate which is destined to France by those who would raise up again the Throne—if the scaffold of Sydney is not sufficiently eloquent, profit by the example which is offered you at Milan, and at Naples by the Tyrants, who have for a moment seized again upon power; even infancy and old age have not been respected.

See what a fate is reserved for all those who have loved and served liberty, those who have spoken as well as those who have fought for it: some receive death, others wait for it in chains.

If you are not conquerors, Frenchmen, behold the future!

And do not flatter yourselves to escape by the obscurity of your condition, by the smallness of your services, and the little of publicity in your opinions, from the active animosity of a royal and sanguinary reaction.

No doubt the first blows would fall upon men the most known, and would cause the heads of the most ardent Republicans to fall. But after these first sacrifices which royal vengeance would require, there would be some more obscure whom the monarch would give to serve inferior passions in a slower degree, the progressive action of which would overrun all ranks, reach all conditions, embrace all epochs.

Then the military would be reached who would not shoot the provokers of the States General, the members of the States of Dauphiny and of Brittany in 1778, as he who had not imitated Lambese in 1789, he who promised to serve the nation at the flight of the King in 1791, as he who has since sworn fidelity to the Republic.

Then would be pursued the signers of those numerous addresses of adhesion, which arrived from all parts of France to the States

General, become the National Assembly, and which would be extracted from the archives in order to become titles of proscription, as those who have applauded other epochs of the revolution. Then would be attached all the generous plebeians who organized, armed, and commanded the National Guard, with which in a moment was covered the soil of regenerated France.

Then would be sacrificed those honorable deserters of the privileged caste who came to range themselves in the Battalions of Freemen to render homage to equality.

Then would be delivered up to the sacerdotal anathema, the priests who shook off the yoke of Rome in 1790, as those who abjured their religion in 1793; those who preserved their functions, and swore fidelity to the Laws of the Republic, as those who changed their condition and submitted to the rites of wedlock.—Then would be persecuted all those magistrates who have been honored by the choice of the people, who after sitting upon the Fleurs de lis, have judged in the popular tribunals. Their probity would not justify them in the eyes of their enemies, irritated at not being able to give a false motive for their cruelty.—Then would be sought out all the administrators of Districts and of departments, all municipal officers, however they may be distinguished for their civism, or their devotedness, or whether they only had the title without the function, whether they desired the Constitution of '91, or that of '93, or that of the year '3; all are equally odious and culpable for having borne the colors of liberty.

Then would be submitted to ecclesiastical censure, as well as to civil degradation, the husband whom a divorce has freed from an unhappy connexion, from the danger of offending morals; then the legitimate and cherished fruits of a happy union without a name, without condition, without parents, repulsed from society in the name of God and of the monarchy.

Then private hatred would redouble in activity; then the royal agents would receive all denunciations, would help every intemperate rage, republicanism would be the crime of every one who should have an enemy, or one who may be envious or jealous of them, even the Royalist would be laid hold of by calumny, and personal safety would no longer exist for any citizen.

Property would be no longer respected; the overthrow of Fortunes would be universal, and the necessary consequence the immediate return of royalty.

First the ecclesiastical tithes would be claimed, the Bible in the hand, by the Priests, as the terrage, the field rent and the quit rent, would be by the nobles; right, divine, feudal right, the Throne and the altar, would renew their ancient alliance, would levy tribute again of the territorial productions of France, the fruit of the advances of Proprietors, the product of the toil of the cultivators, and to recover this heavy and iniquitous tax, the soil of the republic would offer again to humiliated Frenchmen, the hideous spectacle of prisons, of the gallows, of chains, and of the iron collar. Frenchmen, picture to yourselves the convulsions, the rending, the overturning which would follow such events, and if you doubt their reality, cast your eyes upon the territory of the allied republics.

The first act of conquerors has been to despoil the purchasers of national domains; a proclamation of the general enemy has sufficed to spoliate and condemn to mendicity, to despair, thousands

of citizens, who expect that victory will reinstate them in their possessions.—

And Frenchmen would be destined to such evils—they would undergo such shame. Ferocious strangers, barbarous hordes would give the insolent orders of their chiefs in the place of the sovereign will of the nation!

They would dispose of the lives and fortunes of the citizens. They would give as in the time of the conquests of the Gauls, the properties to their soldiers, would carry off their moveable wealth; would despoil our museums of their Ancient monuments and those which we have added at the price of the blood of our warriors.—

Frenchmen, these misfortunes will never be realized. Your courage will know how to prevent them; but the picture of them serves at least to revive the patriotism of lukewarm spirits, to enlighten improvident minds, to rally all hearts to one sentiment, to a common desire, that of conquering our enemies and making the republic triumphant.

Citizens of all conditions, believe that the Directory whose members lived lately in the midst of you, has seen near at hand your evils and your wants, and calculated with grief the extent of the privations and sacrifices which an imminent peril has forced the laws to demand of you. It knows what the husbandman feels, deprived momentarily of the arm which aided him in his labours, the widow regretting the loss of the son who soothed her sorrows, the soldier who has asked, often in vain for alms, subsistence and clothing, the artisan for whom work is scarce, the manufacturer whose productions languish, the artist whose talent is without encouragement, the proprietor whose domains are depreciated. Believe that the pains, the sufferings, the misfortunes, the most removed from its regards are not the less present to its solicitude.

Indulge the hope with the Directory that the endeavors which it is charged to make in the name of the Law which it claims in the name of the country, which it invokes in the name of your dearest interests will be the certain pledges of success, of glory, of pacification and of happiness.—

These efforts, the armies expect in order to secure victory under our banners; the brigands of the West and of the South expect them, to hide far off their infamy and their crime, the allied republic expect them in order to revive liberty; the friendly powers in order to persevere in their fidelity the whole republic in order to be without alarms.—

These efforts which will be the last because they will ensure us triumphs, national pride would suffice to inspire them;—the interest of all compels them—they must be placed between the people of France and the misfortunes with which the return of royalty threatens us.

Frenchmen, think upon the incontestable facts, upon the certain details, the important reflections which the Directory have placed before you. If your minds are struck, if your hearts are affected at the dangers of your country, if you wish to make them cease, carry into effect the laws with exactness, with eagerness: rally round the republican standard, sacrifice your resentments, abjure your hatreds, drive away every irritating remembrance, pardon errors, and weaknesses, make war only against crime, attack only the enemies of the republic.—Let probity, patriotism and courage,

understand each other, draw near and unite together.—The forces concentrated, are immense, nothing can resist the all-prevailing power of yours, the Directory will obtain from without the peace which will ensure victory ; and within, the peace which will guarantee justice.

The Executive Directory decrees that the aforesaid proclamation shall be inserted in the Bulletin of the Laws, and that it shall be printed, published in all the communes of the republic in the accustomed places, and sent to the Armies.

The Ministers of Justice, of the Interior, of War, and of General Police are charged each in that which concerns them with the execution of the present decree.

Long live the Republic !

(23) Discourse pronounced by the Citizen Syeyes, President of the Executive Directory, at the commemorative fete of the 18th Fructidor.

Citizens,

We owe to the day of the 18th Fructidor, (which we celebrate for the second time the return—) for having destroyed, of all the conspiracies formed against the Republic, that perhaps which was the most powerfully concocted in order to effect its ruin.

The Republic without continued to astonish with its glory every one who had not continued strangers to human revolutions ; agitated for a long period within, it began at length to repose upon a constitution, when Royalism, always indefatigable, sought to lay hold of this first repose, and to turn it entirely to its own triumph. It had obtained an increase of its forces, from that unreflecting multitude who believed they could not too much hate times which yet weighed upon all remembrances, and did not see that those who pretended to avenge them, were only fit to reproduce them. From that time it conceived and executed, almost upon all points of the Republic, a vast plan of organization by which it might invade every means of action, every means of resistance.—Its agents were everywhere : some marching openly, others concealed. They knew to what point they dare go. Become masters, or rather tyrants of opinion, by journals, by pamphlets, by all foreign means of influence, they commanded a party at the elections, and introduced treason amongst all the authorities. Every thing bore the stamp of their cruel intervention. Inflexible against the slightest wrongs of the sincere friends of liberty ; they only knew of indulgence for the crimes of its enemies.

In the name even of humanity, they excited hatreds, stirred up furies, promoted vengeances, and when from the number of assassinations, their own work, they carried every where amongst republican families, mourning and fear, they wondered that any one should dare to be disquieted at it. Soon they had no longer need to disguise themselves. The name of Republican became a reproach, the Emigrants returned with security and in the midst of those who had called them, they wiped out the reproach of being too timid counter-Revolutionists. It was not they who were guilty ; it was those who having dared to attack their privileges, had constrained them, they said, to desert France. At length, the glory of the French Armies was itself a wrong, which they reserved the expiation of, to another day. And already they were provoked at

the cries of liberty which were heard in the midst of the songs of victory.

How much the fall of the Republic, then appeared certain to men impatient to make us return under the yoke!—But all this scaffolding was doomed to fall in one day. It was only necessary to Republicans, in order to remove danger, to rally together; to make those return to the ranks who felt the need of a Government, and of order: should necessarily make them at length find force and direction in the first authorities.

This happy change was effected on the 18th Fructidor, under the inspiration of liberty. No effusion of blood saddened the victory; and the French nation owes to it the not having been entirely plunged in a civil war. . . . The day of the 9th Thermidor put an end to the action so cruelly prolonged of a dreadful tyranny. Day of the 18th Fructidor, thou hast put an end in thy return to reaction not less insupportable, which went to annihilate the republic and every hope of liberty.

These two days have been the reparation of many evils. Why have they not dried up the source of them! Both were indispensable, both however cost tears to republicans—Citizens, you all wish, without doubt, at once to prevent the return as to guarantee us hereafter from the times which they would recal to us: march then, constantly united in the route which is so plainly marked out to you. The two first authorities of the Republic have made you to hear in the name of *Liberty*, this consolatory cry,—no more terror, no more reaction in France, justice and liberty for all.—Frenchmen we know that it is also the most ardent of your vows. In this agreement of retirement is a certain pledge that notwithstanding all our Enemies, a vow truly national will be accomplished.

The hopes, I know, which have been engraven in our hearts by the most solemn declarations have not all yet been fulfilled. No, they have not without doubt.—But see with how many obstacles the zeal of the Government has been retarded. These obstacles will yield to the perseverance of its efforts, if you lend it the invincible support of your union, whatever may be the ambition of those who shake around it the brands of discord, which they desire to throw amongst us, and the incomprehensible suspicions which they spread throughout the Republic, you know that it exists but for you, that all its glory is in your glory, all its happiness in your happiness; that it has not, that it cannot have any other interest but yours, it will therefore not cease then to tell you with confidence; rally round the Constitutional Authorities, for a safeguard cannot be found beyond them for your repose and your liberty. And at what time will you more feel this imperious need? The course of our triumphs has been interrupted for some moments, and we mourn the irreparable loss of that young hero whose magnanimous virtues and talents promised us so many victories. Every day we receive the horrible details of a Counter Revolution which has just broke forth like a clap of thunder in a country but lately renewed by liberty; and behold in us the contemporaries of a Royal vengeance exercised upon a people who desire to be free. A foreign influence is arrived to relight a civil war in several departments and the blood of Frenchmen has again flowed under the hands of Frenchmen. The coalesced powers have dared to say

they are sure to tear up the Republic either by their sword, or our own!—Citizens, this picture might change at once. The resources of the people of France are without limits.—Every thing yields to the energy of their will when united; how criminal then would those be who would bring in discord!—I say but another word:—Citizens, think, that if in the honorable struggle which you have sustained for these ten years, your divisions make you yield, you would become the fable of the world, and it only belongs to you to be the example of it.

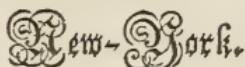
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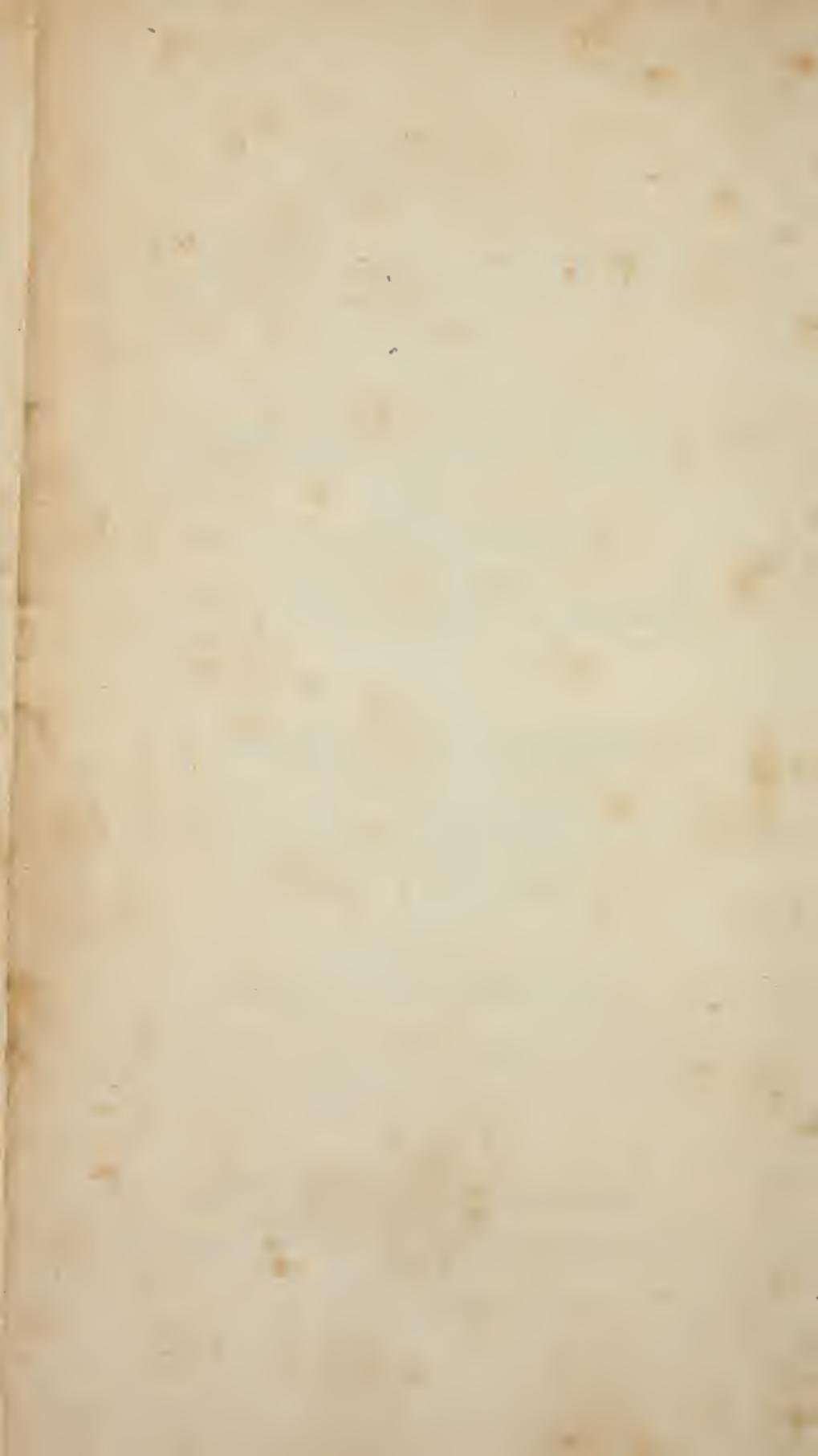
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